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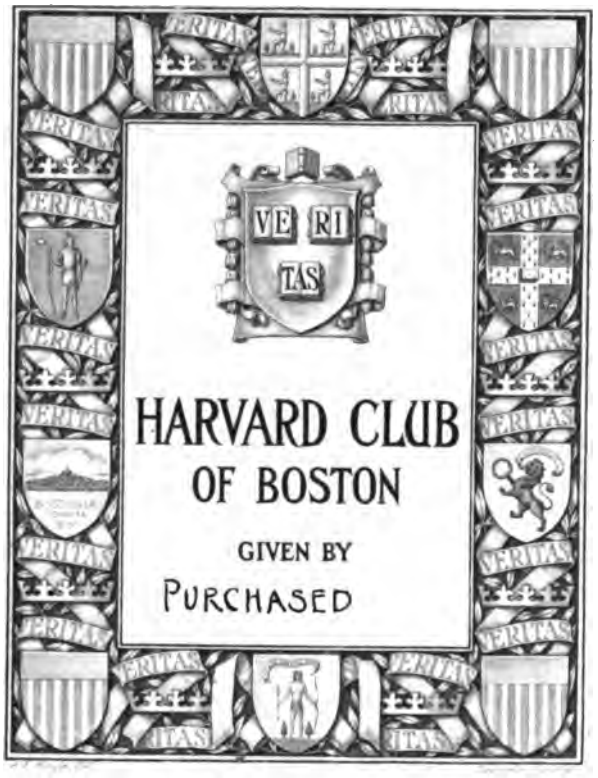

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WILLIAM GRAY OF SALEM
MERCHANT

Wm. Gray

WILLIAM

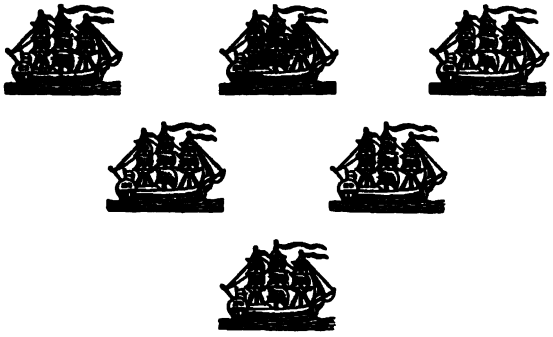
GRAY

Of Salem, Merchant

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY

Edward Gray

With PORTRAITS and other ILLUSTRATIONS



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FOREWORD

WHEN I undertook to write a life of William Gray, I knew that all his papers with the exception of one letter-book, from which many of my ideas of his commercial transactions are taken, were destroyed in the Boston fire of 1872, and that I should have to rely on contemporary notices in the newspapers and in diaries of individuals for facts; but I little realized what else was in store for me. In 1782 there were three William Grays in Salem. The one here discussed was known as William Gray, Tertius, and not to be confounded with William Gray, the sea captain, who made a brilliant record as captain of privateers during the Revolution. In 1798, at which date our William Gray was known as William Gray, Jr., the confusion is even worse. There were then at least five William Grays in Salem. I find in the Laws and Resolves of Massachusetts, February 5, 1798, chapter 37, that "William Gray the fifth of Salem in the county of Essex, son of William Gray the third of said Salem, be empowered to take the name of William Shepard Gray"; also in 1802, June 23, chapter 14, "that William Gray, a minor, son of William Gray Junior of Salem be allowed to take the name of William Rufus Gray." In writing this sketch, I have tried to err always on the safe side, and not credit my subject with anything which refers to a William Gray about whose identity I am at all doubtful.

The portrait of Mr. Gray reproduced here was painted by

by Gilbert Stuart in 1807, and his signature is taken from a letter to Mr. John Quincy Adams dated August 4, 1809, in the Adams Papers. My thanks are due to all who have so kindly assisted me, and particularly to Mr. George Francis Dow, of the Essex Institute, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Mr. John Chipman Gray.

E. G.

Groton, Massachusetts, 1913.

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WILLIAM GRAY OF SALEM
MERCHANT

WILLIAM GRAY
Of Salem, *Merchant*

CHAPTER I

1750-1800

WILLIAM GRAY, or, as he was often called, "Billy" Gray, was the oldest son of Abraham Gray, of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Lydia Calley, daughter of Francis Calley, of Marblehead. He was born in Lynn on June 27, 1750, old style, equal to July 8, new style,[1] in a gambrel-roofed wooden house which stood until quite recently on Marion Street, near the Boston Road. William Gray, his grandfather, for whom he was named, I find mentioned in the Essex County deeds as husbandman and cordwainer, and he is said to have initiated the manufacture of shoes by operatives in Lynn.[2] Our William's father, Abraham Gray, seems to have followed along the same lines, being one of the first shoe manufacturers in Lynn who employed journeymen and apprentices.[3] When William was still a small boy,

[1] I have the above dates in Mr. Gray's handwriting. — *Author.*

[2] Lynn *Weekly Reporter*, July 2, 1864.

[3] Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn* (second edition), p. 243.

Abraham

Abraham Gray moved to Salem; he took this step sometime between 1760 and 1763, as the Lynn records show that his son, Samuel, was baptized in Lynn, August 10, 1760, and the records of the First Church in Salem that "Francis Cawley [Calley], infant son of Mr. Abraham Gray," was baptized December 29, 1762.[1] After taking up his residence in Salem, Abraham Gray continued for many years to be Deacon of the First Church—until his death in 1791. He was buried in the Charter Street Burying-Ground, his tomb standing among those near the entrance.

Of William Gray's youth little is known, except that he was apprenticed at an early age to Samuel Gardner, Esq., of Salem, and later entered the counting-house of Richard Derby, Esq., of the same port. He seems to have stepped from the counting-house to mercantile life, as I can find no record whatever of his going to sea, and he began business for himself when he was about twenty-eight years old.

At this period, there were three William Grays in Salem: Captain William Gray, who made a brilliant record as master of letters of marque during the Revolution; William Gray, Jr. (of another family); and William Gray, Tertius, our William, who, though he was the son of Abraham Gray, and only a distant relative, if any, of the other two, seems to have been called "Tertius" because he was the third in point of seniority. Any one

[1] Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. VIII, p. 212. In the Essex County Deeds, 107 : 273, Abraham Gray is called "of Lynn" on February 21, 1761, and "of Salem," February 26, 1762.

who

who wishes to compare the signatures of "Wm. Gray Ter.," as bonder of letters of marque,[1] or as signed to the petitions to the Governor of Massachusetts for the appointment of masters to the said letters of marque,[2] with the later signatures of our William Gray, can assure himself of the fact that our William Gray was William Gray, Tertius. He is also called "Tertius" in his marriage notice in the Salem "Gazette," which I have printed in full a few pages later on. His grandson, William Gray, of Boston, writes of him as follows: "He was rather below the medium height, and his manners were singularly simple and genial, his only peculiarity of dress being the plaited queue much worn in his day." His portrait, painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1807, when Mr. Gray was fifty-seven years old, shows a pleasant-looking man, not at all handsome, with sandy hair parted in the middle and worn in a queue, a broad forehead and high cheek-bones, deep-blue eyes, and a ruddy complexion. The general effect of the face is determination of purpose and a certain kindly sense of humor.

In the troublous times prior to the Revolution, William Gray joined the militia in Salem. When hostilities broke out, his company, under Colonel Timothy Pickering, made a forced march to Lexington, arriving, however, only in time to exchange a few shots with the retreating British.[3] After the battle, the Continental Congress deemed it wise

[1] Papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress, no. 196, vol. 3, pp. 71, 74; vol. 7, pp. 40, 53; vol. 8, p. 31; vol. 15, pp. 39, 81, 98.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 172, pp. 63, 220, 229, 263, 270.

[3] Lynn *Weekly Reporter*, July 2, 1864; also a letter written by Colonel Samuel Swett, June 11, 1864.

to

to send word of the engagement as well as of the general state of affairs in this country to England, so that another side of the question might be presented to the British public than that shown in the official report sent from Boston. As it was of utmost importance that their report should reach England before the official report, the Quero, a fast-sailing ship, belonging to Richard Derby, Esq., of Salem, was selected to carry the news. In the bill rendered to the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and paid August 1, 1775, I find that William Gray contributed £10 sterling toward the outfit of the vessel.[1] This £10 from William Gray and the pay of John Derby, as captain of the expedition, who, in the bill rendered, modestly estimated the value of his time and services at "0," were the only contributions made by individual citizens toward the expenses of the voyage.

The following April (1776) the 3d Company of the First Regiment of Essex Militia elected as officers: Richard Ward, captain; Miles Greenwood, 1st lieutenant; William Gray, 3d, 2d lieutenant,[2] and I find in "Massa-

[1] I have compared very carefully the signatures of William Gray, Tertius, with the handwriting of the bill rendered for the Quero in 1775 (Massachusetts Archives, vol. 206, p. 94), and have come to the conclusion that William Gray, Tertius (our William) wrote the bill and was probably a clerk in Richard Derby's counting-house at this time. That being the case, it seems very probable that the William Gray mentioned was he, as he was in a position to know the cost and needs of the voyage. Robert S. Rantoul, Esq., attributes the £10 to our William Gray. (Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. xxxvi, p. 21.) The incident seems to me of enough interest to insert on the chance that the William Gray mentioned was our William Gray.

[2] Pickering Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 56, p. 78.

chusetts

chusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," vol. VI, p. 783:—

"William Gray 3rd, 2nd Lieut. Captain Richard Ward's (3rd) Company, 1st Essex Co. regt. of Mass. militia; return dated Salem May 15th, 1776, signed by Col. Timothy Pickering Jr. and Joseph Sprague, of officers chosen by the several companies of militia in Salem and returned to be commissioned, said officers accepting the appointments, however, only upon condition that the General Court would compel a more equal distribution as to the persons required to undergo military training and to be subject to service calls, and also in order that the existing companies might be kept fully trained and equipped; ordered in Council June 6, 1776, that said officers be commissioned; reported commissioned June 6, 1776."

Whether or not Mr. Gray saw any active service in the above capacity, I do not know.

Owing to our almost entire lack of a navy during the Revolution, the Continental Congress issued privateer licenses and "letters of marque" to individuals, in order to supply the deficiency in fighting ships. A letter-of-marque vessel carried a cargo to a destined port or ports, taking prizes if they came in her way, and defending herself against the enemy as a regularly commissioned private ship of war under heavy bonds to her government to obey the rules of warfare, thus combining commerce and war. Our William Gray was owner or part owner of several of these privately armed vessels during the latter part of the war, and from time to time his ships captured some British

British property.[1] His activities, however, seem to have been confined to equipping his vessels, as I do not find any record of his going to sea himself.[2]

During this period, with daily life full of the business of war and of sending forth letters of marque, Mr. Gray was deep as well in the art of love. He evidently found time to court the pretty and vivacious Miss Elizabeth Chipman, daughter of Hon. John Chipman and Elizabeth Brown Chipman, of Marblehead. His attentions proved successful if not altogether acceptable to the friends of the young lady, for the rumor goes that the Chipmans did not look with too much favor on the suit of young William Gray, feeling that his prospects were not good enough at the time to support Miss Chipman in the same comfort to which she was accustomed.[3] However this may be, the marriage took place, and his "darling Betsey," as he then and afterwards called his wife, became Mrs. William Gray on March 29, 1782. The notice of the marriage appears in the Salem "Gazette" as follows:

[1] Pickering Manuscripts, vol. 28, p. 389. Letter from G. Cabot, December 13, 1808. Mr. Cabot was evidently not a particular friend of Mr. Gray when this letter was written (the Embargo period), and intimated that he returned the property to the British; but it seems hardly likely that a man would go to the expense of arming a vessel, and to the risk of total loss during an engagement, merely to return the captured property to the enemy. For a list of letters of marque of which our William Gray was owner or part owner, see Appendix A.

[2] The Captain William Gray, with a brilliant record as captain of privateers and letters of marque, is not the same as William Gray, Tertius. The signatures of both men are among the Massachusetts Archives, and William Gray, Tertius, is our William Gray.

[3] Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p. 499.

"Married

E. Gray

"Married, on Friday last, Mr. William Gray, Tertius, of this town, merchant, to Miss Betsey Chipman, daughter of the late John Chipman, Esq., of Marblehead." [1] It is interesting to note in this connection that her brother, Ward Chipman, at the outbreak of the Revolution, remained loyal to Great Britain, and fled to Boston. When the British evacuated that town, he left with the troops and went to New York, finally joining the Loyalist colony in New Brunswick, where he became judge of the Supreme Judicial Court. The portrait of his sister, Mrs. Gray, painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1807, shows her at the age of fifty-one, a handsome woman — brown eyes combined with auburn hair and a vivacious and pleasing expression about the mouth, high coloring, and an erect and well-rounded figure. She is gowned in satin and lace, and has, as she sits looking out at us from her background of crimson drapery, a certain distinction of face and character that charms one at once.

Their first child, William, who later had his name changed by an act of the Legislature to William Rufus Gray[2] because of the number of William Grays in Salem, was born June 23, 1783. Mr. Gray's business ventures having proved by this time so successful, he bought, a few months after his boy was born, the house of Mr. William

[1] Salem *Gazette*, Thursday, April 4, 1782. Mr. Gray himself wrote the date as March 29. Records of the First Church, Salem, give date as March 28.

[2] Laws and Resolves of Massachusetts, chap. 14, June 23, 1802. "And that William Gray, a minor, son of William Gray, Junr. of Salem, be allowed to take the name of William Rufus Gray."

Browne

Browne, on Essex Street.[1] Here most of the other children were born, and the family lived until 1800, after which time they built for themselves a new house on the opposite side of the street.

By 1783, William Gray began to take an active part in the town affairs of Salem, the selectmen for that year being Messrs. William West, John Appleton, Joshua Ward, Jerathmeel Peirce, William Gray, Tertius, all of whom were reëlected the two following years.[2] In May, 1785, George Williams, Esq., the Honorable Benjamin Goodhue, Esq., Mr. Samuel Page, and Mr. William Gray, Tertius, were chosen to represent Salem at the General Court for the year ensuing.[3] The following November, 1785, Captain William Gray died[4] and William Gray, Tertius, became known as William Gray, Jr., the selectmen for 1786 being: Messrs. William West, John Appleton, Jerathmeel Peirce, William Gray, Jr., Joshua Ward,[5] as in the three preceding years, except that William Gray, Tertius, is called William Gray, Jr.[6] The next year there was a change in selectmen, Joseph Sprague, Esq., Mr.

[1] Essex *Antiquarian*, vol. VIII, p. 114. The house was bought September 17, 1783, for £1003. Mr. Gray sold it in 1805 for $13,500.

[2] Salem *Gazette*, March 27, 1783; March 25, 1784; April 5, 1785.

[3] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1785.

[4] *Ibid.*, November 22, 1785. "Died on Friday last, Captain William Gray of this town, in the 41st year of his age."

[5] *Salem Chronicle and Essex Advertiser*, April 7, 1786.

[6] Captain William Gray having died, William Gray, Jr., became plain William Gray, and William Gray, Tertius, became William Gray, Jr. Essex County Deeds, 145: 219: a deed signed May 3, 1786, by William Gray, Jr., in which William Gray, Jr., of Salem, Merchant, is recorded as having recovered a judgment by the name of William Gray,

William

William Gray, Jr., Edward Pulling, Esq., Edward Norris, Esq., and Mr. John Hathorne being chosen.[1]

In December, 1787, "at a meeting of the town of Salem to choose members of the Convention to consider the Federal Constitution, two hundred and eight voters were present, and the following gentlemen were chosen: Richard Manning, Esq., Edward Pullen, Esq., Mr. Francis Cabot, and Mr. William Gray, Jr."[2] The present Constitution of the United States was first drawn up by a convention which assembled for the purpose at Philadelphia, and was then submitted to the several States for ratification. The Massachusetts State Convention assembled in January, 1788. At the outset, public feeling and a majority of the convention were against the Constitution, but it was finally adopted by a majority of only nineteen votes, William Gray, Jr., being among the "yeas."[3] After the ratification the members of the convention dined together, toasts were drunk, and the asperities of debate were forgotten for the moment in a general sense of satisfaction and relief that the Constitution had been adopted.[4]

the third, of Salem, Merchant, "on which an execution issued returnable into the Court of Common Pleas to be holden at Salem aforesaid on the first Tuesday of December last past &c." Mr. Gray's earliest signature as William Gray, Jr., that I have found, is April 29, 1788, in the Essex Institute Museum. From now on until 1806, our William Gray was known as William Gray, Jr.

[1] Salem *Mercury*, April 7, 1787.

[2] *Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (referred to hereafter as Bentley), vol. I, p. 84, December 5, 1787.

[3] Salem *Mercury*, February 12, 1788. The Boston *Gazette* and the *Country Journal*, February 11, 1788.

[4] *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. III, p. 196.

In

In 1789, General Washington, President of the United States, made an official visit to New England, and arrived in Salem on Thursday, October 29. Orders were issued in the town for the inhabitants to assemble at one o'clock to greet the President; at two he arrived from Marblehead and there were numerous festivities. In the evening he received the principal gentlemen of the town, and after seven o'clock attended the assembly and stayed until after nine. According to Mr. Bentley,[1] who was present at the assembly, "the ladies were numerous and brilliant, and the gentlemen were also numerous." The dress worn by Mrs. Gray on this occasion is preserved in the Essex Institute Museum at Salem; it is of rich flowered brocade, a delicate shade of pink, and was treasured in the family for many years before being presented to the Museum.

Mr. William Gray, Jr., was mentioned as a State Senator from the County of Essex in 1792,[2] and received the second highest number of votes in Salem for that office,[3] but he was not elected. About this time the merchants of Salem were beginning to feel the need of a bank, and in 1792 the Essex Bank was organized with banking-rooms in a part of the Custom House, William Gray, Jr., being chosen its first president.[4]

As soon as the Revolution was over and peace had been declared, William Gray launched into foreign trade, and his commerce grew so rapidly that by 1792 it had reached

[1] Bentley, vol. I, p. 131, October 29, 1789.
[2] Salem *Gazette*, March 27, 1792.
[3] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1792; June 5, 1792.
[4] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1792.

large

large proportions. He was one of the first of the Salem merchants to embark in the trade with India and China, the brig William and Henry, belonging to Messrs. Gray and Orne, arriving from Canton in 1790.[1] In 1792, Captain William Ward sailed for the East in the brig Enterprise, and I give Mr. Gray's letter of instructions to him:—

SALEM Aug. 9, 1792.

CAPT. WILLIAM WARD,—

The Brig Enterprise under your command being ready for sea, you will embrace the first opportunity and proceed for the Cape of Good Hope—upon your arrival sell such part of the cargo as you can to advantage which I suppose will be the Russia duck, coles and such other part of your cargo as you think proper. I then advise you, if you can, to purchase about twenty hogsheads of brandy and from 60 to 80 hogsheads wine, such as is best calculated for the Isle of France market, some raisins and almonds, and then proceed for the Isle of France, then sell your cargo or such part as you think for my interest to sell, which I expect will be the whole, when you have sold if you can find any sugar, coffee, tea, Indigo, or cotton that will pay one hundred per cent profitt reckoning them to sell at the price you have at foot then I advise you to come back with such of those articles as you find will do best if you cannot find goods to answer to come home from the Isle of France, then I advise you to proceed for Calcutta in the Bay of Bengal, and there take

[1] Charles S. Osgood and Henry M. Batchelder, *Historical Sketch of Salem*, p. 138.

sugar

sugar, saltpeters, Bandanno silk Handkerchiefs, or such other goods as you suppose will answer best in this market. If you have advise that nothing can be done to advantage at Calcutta then you may go to Canton if you can get a cargo of Black wood, cheep, provided you can make out a stock of $20,000. exclusive of the Black wood. When you arrive at Canton after selling your wood take on board as much Bohea tea, as the Brig will carry with some China ware, nankeens, some black sattins, and such other silks as you suppose will best answer. When you have compleated your business in the East Indies proceed directly to this port by such rout as you think safest, if you should come home in the winter it may be well to touch at St. Eustatia and then lay till the spring approaches, so that you may come on safer. I think it may be well to send your boat on shore of Triniti in Martinico where perhaps you will find letters from me. It will be best to sett your cooper at work as soon as you possibly can, and to agree for your wines and Brandies as soon as you can after you arrive, your cargo will sell for 10 to 20 per cent more to take wines and brandies than cash.

Notwithstanding what I have wrote I would have you sell your whole cargo at Good Hope if you can obtain 20 per cent advance and purchase sugars or any other goods that will pay fifty per cent profitt home, then proceed directly for this port. If you have opportunity to sell the Brig Enterprise[1] and appurtanance at a price that you think will answer and can lay out the money to

[1] The brig Enterprise was 164 tons. For a list of Mr. Gray's ships and their tonnage, see Appendix B.

advantage

advantage, do it. She cost five thousand dollars and will be worth that surely when she returns, you will take into your calculations what freight she will make home what you must pay freight and what you can make profitt upon the proceeds of the Brig.

I expect your cargo will sell at the Isle of France at one hundred per cent profitt provided you get there before Cathart who will sail from Boston in ten or twenty days after you. You can buy the Brandy and wine by the legar and then return them their casks by starting them into your own casks, which will save near one half the expense upon the whole. I leave this voyage to your prudent management resting assured that every exertion will be made by you (to promote my interest) that can be done. In case any accident should happen to Capt. Ward during the voyage then I appoint Mr. Benjamin Davison his present mate to persue the plan of the voyage and do and conduct as Capt. Ward would or should have done had no such accident have happened and in case any accident should happen to both Capt. Ward and Mr. Davison, then I appoint Mr. Jere Putnam the second mate to do and conduct the business as either of them would or could have done and follow those orders.

Write me by all opportunities either to America or Europe. If to England, direct to the care of Messrs. Harrison Ansly & Co in London, if to Spain to Gardoqui & Co in Bilboa. If to France then to the care of Messrs. Lanchon & Co at L'Orient. If to Denmark to the care Messrs. Ryberg & Co. at Copenhagen. If to Sweden then to the care of Mr. Thomas Erstein at Gottenburg. The

port

port charges at Canton I suppose about three thousand dollars, at Calcutta the port charges are small. If there is any obstruction to your trading at Calcutta you can do business at some other port a little above to as much advantage. I think the favourable monsoons to go to Calcutta begin in May, I would not have you run any great risk as I shall have little or no insurance. Capt. Ward having paid five per cent upon the amount of the cargo here, including the cash, at the return of the Effects, he is to receive ten per cent of the whole neat stock but not to charge any commission during the voyage excepting such as he pays to some other person. But to charge the voyage all necessary charges. The five per cent addition to the five he puts in is to pay him in lieu of commission.

I further agree Captain Ward shall receive of the profitts that shall be made upon one hundred pound averaging my whole stock in this voyage at his return. — as a further consideration for his services. In case you can obtain a credit to advantage and lay out the amount so as to pay me profitt you may take to the amount of six thousand dollars and draw upon me — payable either here or in London — and your bills shall meet due honour.

Wishing you Almighty protection and a prosperous voyage

I am your Friend

WILLIAM GRAY JR.

SALEM 10th August 1792.[1]

[1] Letter in possession of George B. Dorr, Esq., of Boston. Captain William Ward was a brother-in-law of Mr. Gray, having married Miss Joanna Chipman, a sister of Mrs. Gray.

This

This letter shows not only what a thorough understanding Mr. Gray had of the trade possibilities in the different ports mentioned, but also the profits which could be made if one were willing to take the risks, which were great in those days. The letter shows also how much the success of the voyage depended on the judgment of the captain, as, in most cases, the final decision as to what was best to do was left in his hands.

Mr. Gray's shipping was not all done from Salem. Some of his vessels were loaded in New York, in fact, according to Mr. Bentley,[1] Mr. Gray thought very seriously of moving to that city in 1794, and made a journey there with that purpose in view in the fall of the same year. The following letter written by Mrs. Gray to her sister, Mrs. Nancy Ward, at Salem, describes some such journey. It is undated, but I have every reason to believe this is the journey she speaks of: —

THURSDAY MORNING 10 o'clock.

I have neither had time or spirits to write since we mounted our car in Salem at seven on Tuesday morn, we reached Bradeshes at Cambridge at half-past ten where we found a carriage so so, good horses but not handsome, and Silvanus[2] waiting for us with elegant shoe and knee buckles, plated with gold, which Mr. Gray reluctantly consented to take. Sil had an elegant ladies watch which he lent me (let Aunt Ropes know this). The transition

[1] Bentley, vol. II, p. 109, October 9, 1794.

[2] Sylvanus Gray, son of Winthrop Gray and Mary Gray, our William Gray's sister.

from

from Barrill's Jarke waggon to our light carriage made our journey onward more pleasing, we dined at Weston and slept at Marlborough. Facing the sun gave me a bad headache which added to my cold prevented my sleeping. I arose at midnight and opened the fire where I sat ruminating near an hour—when the pain in my head abated I went to bed and slept till five. We rose before six and breakfasted and pursued our journey. We stopped in Worcester an hour. Mr. G. and the boys walked out, while I traversed some dirty rooms and read Watts' psalms which I found in one of them. My head was so stuffed with a cold that not one new idea gained entrance, if it had the long steep hills in Northborough would have jolted it out. The fading prospects around were not inspiring. The high hills in Leicester we gained the summit of by one. Where while dinner was preparing a smutty boy gave Mr. G. an account of the progress of literature and rules of the academy and declared he would do as he advised us if he had children send them to it. We passed Mr. Moore's house but could not stop. We slept at Hitchcock's at Brookfield in the house that Mrs. Spooner dispatched her husband. Rode before breakfast this morning eight miles in the rain over hills a thousand feet from the surface of the earth, some of them very steep and rough. We breakfasted at Brimfield where the ample hostess was taking up beehives and drying pumkins for pies which she extolled above any other pye. I thought of neighbour C's apples. William's gibes keep us awake and Harry's history of beasts which he bot afford subjects of wonder and inquiry. We're now near a hundred

dred miles from Salem in Palmer at a dirty house but my cold is much better. I think of home. Do tell Lydia to send soon two clean suits a week. I long to hear from home, my daughter, my son and my cherub. Do greet them for me — my letter is now waited for so I bid you an affectionate adieu. E. G.

THURSDAY NOON

I fear the [*sic*] will impede our farther progress to-day.

MRS. NANCY WARD
SALEM[1]

[1] Letter in possession of George B. Dorr, Esq. This letter was probably written between 1794 and 1797, as Mrs. Gray had five children living at that period, and five are mentioned. Rev. William Bentley speaks of Mr. Gray going to New York October 9, 1794 (vol. II, p. 109). John Chipman Gray was born in December, 1793, and William R. Gray and Henry Gray would have been eleven and ten years old respectively in 1794. The other two children mentioned were Lucia and Francis Calley Gray. Mr. and Mrs. Gray's children were: —

William Rufus, born, Salem, June 23, 1783.
Henry, baptized, Salem, August 22, 1784.
Lydia Maria, baptized, Salem, February 5, 1786;
died, Salem, May 22, 1786.
Eliza, baptized, Salem, April 18, 1787;
baptized, Salem, April 8, 1787 (Town Records);
died, Salem, January 25, 1791.
(Her mourning ring is in the Essex Institute Museum at Salem.)
Lucia, born, Salem, December 30, 1788;
baptized, Salem, January 4, 1789.
Francis Calley, born, Salem, September 19, 1790;
baptized, Salem, September 26, 1790.
Charles (mentioned in Mr. Gray's list of his children between Francis C. and John C. but without dates, and I have been unable to find any record of his birth or death).

After

After their return Mr. and Mrs. Gray decided to remain in Salem, where they lived until 1809, when they removed to Boston in consequence of the bitter animosity of the Federalists against Mr. Gray because he supported the Embargo.

In January, 1797, Captain William Ward sailed for Calcutta from New York, and I insert Mr. Gray's letter of instructions as another example of the kind of articles which were imported from the East, and also to show the amount paid the captain in commissions on such a voyage:—

SALEM Jan. 1797.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WARD

You will embrace the first opportunity and proceed for New York, on your arrival, take command of my ship John, on board which you will ship such goods as you suppose will answer at Calcutta, when you have got your ship in good order, proceed for Calcutta in the Bay of Bengal there purchase about one hundred and twenty tons of good sugar, and then fill the ship with such other goods as you suppose will answer best in this market, such an

John Chipman, born, Salem, December 26, 1793;
baptized, Salem, January 19, 1794.
Ward, baptized, Salem, January 15, 1797;
died, Salem, August —, 1798.
Horace, born, Medford, August 25, 1800;
baptized, Medford, August 31, 1800.

The baptisms and deaths are taken from the records of the First Church, in the Essex Institute Historical Collections. William R., Henry, Lucia, Francis C., John C., and Horace survived their parents.

assortment

assortment as you brought the last voyage was good except the bandanno handkerchiefs. I would not have you purchase any of them at more than one hundred and ten rupees per cwge. Instead of the pepper brought last voyage, I recommend your bringing ginger, this article will always answer. You will get what information you can at New York. Upon your arrival at Calcutta, if you find it will be for our interest you have liberty to draw bills on Bainbridge, Ansley & Co of London for my acct or take up money in Bengal. You have liberty to take what sum you think proper, not to exceed one hundred thousand rupees. the whole stock on board for the owners acct. When you have compleated your business in the East Indies proceed directly to this port, unless it should winter when you come on this coast, in that case, and peace between France and England should have taken place, you may stop at the Wind W. India islands and sell such part of your cargo as you can to advantage, and wait for good weather to come on. But if you come on this coast in the winter and peace has not taken place, then proceed directly to New York, on your arrival write me a letter. Break no acts of Trade or laws of any nation during this voyage. In case any accident should happen to Capt. Ward to prevent his doing the business of this voyage, then I appoint Mr. —— the present mate of the John, to do the business of this voyage and follow the foregoing orders as Capt. Ward would or could have done had no such accident have happened, with this exception that I would not have any moneys drawn or borrowed by any other person than Capt. Ward.

Wishing

Wishing you a successful voyage and Almighty protection I am your friend and employer

WM. GRAY JR.

It is agreed that Capt. Ward shall be allowed five per cent commission for selling what merchandize he carrys out, in the John, or sells during the voyage for the owners, and two and a half per cent for what he purchases, as well the amt of what he takes up abroad for the owners, as on the proceeds of the cargo. He is to have five per cent privilidge of what the ship will or doth carry for his adventure, and twenty-five dollars per month for his wages.

WM. GRAY JR.[1]

By this time Mr. Gray's shipping had reached such large proportions, that Mr. George Cabot speaks of him as the greatest merchant in Massachusetts.[2]

In 1790, William Gray had joined the "Old Fire Club," an institution which was organized in March, 1744, and at the time of his joining was limited to twenty-five members.[3] Each member had two leather buckets and a bag two yards in length and three quarters of a yard in breadth, all with the owner's name marked thereon. The buckets were used in carrying water to the fire, whereas the bag was for the purpose of removing valuables from the burning house. There were no regular fire companies at that date, and the citizens had to form voluntary organizations

[1] Letter in possession of George B. Dorr, Esq.

[2] Henry Cabot Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, p. 123.

[3] Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. XXXIX, p. 4.

for

for the protection of their property. The year 1798 saw William Gray, Jr., Esq., elected one of the Fire Wards, to which office he was reëlected until 1805.[1] The Fire Wards, as was then the custom, carried a staff, bucket, wrench, and bag, and were vested with all the necessary authority for putting out fires.

At the end of President Washington's administration, the French Directory broke off all relations with our Government, and French privateersmen and frigates began to attack American commerce. Intercourse with France was suspended by Congress in 1798; the treaties with that country were declared at an end, American frigates were authorized to capture French vessels guilty of depredations on American commerce, and an American army was formed. Under these conditions, American shipping was in danger of being captured, and the American vessels which were at Havana came home from Cuba under convoy of one of Mr. Gray's ships, armed on the spot, arriving at Salem September 11, 1798.[2]

Congress had at this time authorized the construction of only three frigates, the country being far too poor to create a navy adequate for its defense. Under these circumstances Congress passed an act in June, 1798, to accept vessels built on subscription by private citizens, as a loan to the Government at six per cent interest. The subscription list was opened at Salem and Elias Hasket Derby

[1] Salem *Gazette* April 10, 1798; April 9, 1799; April 18, 1800; March 24, 1801; Salem *Register*, March 25, 1802; May 16, 1803; March 29, 1804.

[2] Bentley, vol. II, p. 282, September 11, 1798.

and

and William Gray, Jr., set the example by subscribing $10,000 each,[1] and within a few weeks $74,700 had been subscribed towards building such a vessel. The Salem "Gazette" of October 26, 1798, contains the following item: "At a meeting in the Court House in this town on Tuesday evening last, of those gentlemen who have subscribed to build a ship for the service of the United States, it was voted unanimously to build a Frigate of 32 guns, and loan the same to the Government; and Mr. William Gray Jun., John Norris and Jacob Ashton, Esq., Capt. Benj. Hodges, and Capt. Ichabod Nichols were chosen a Committee to carry the vote into immediate effect." Later William Gray, Jr., was chosen chairman of the committee,[2] and the vessel was named the Essex. The Essex was launched on September 30, 1799,[3] and in the War of 1812 won lasting renown under Captain David Porter. This war with France lasted only a short time, and consisted of a few sea-fights; for after Napoleon seized the supreme power negotiations were opened, and a Convention of Peace, Commerce and Navigation was concluded September 30, 1800.

[1] Salem *Gazette*, October 1, 1799. The *Gazette* mentions Messrs. Derby and Gray, but there is no doubt that Messrs. E. H. Derby and William Gray, Jr., are referred to, as they were the largest shipowners and among the wealthiest men in Salem at that time. Mr. Bentley (vol. II, p. 282, September 10, 1798) says, "Mr. Gray offers to subscribe nine tenths of the sum subscribed by Mr. Derby." If Mr. Gray regarded his property as worth nine tenths that of Mr. Derby, then Mr. Gray was worth about $900,000 at this time, as Mr. Derby is said to have been worth $1,000,000 at the time of his death, August 8, 1799. (Bentley, vol. II, p. 317, note.)

[2] Salem *Gazette*, May 28, 1799.

[3] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1799.

Mr.

Salem Oct. 24. 1798

Maj. Hackett

Being one of the Committee for Building a Frigate in this Town I am desired by them, to request you will come to Salem, as soon as you can, as we wish to consult you upon that Business, & will pay your expen. & for your time of Coming &c — you will call upon any of us. we will wait upon you immediately

Yrs Mble Ser.
Wm. Gray jr.

Committee, Jacob Ashton Esq.
John Norris — Esq.
Capt. Ichabod Nichols
Capt. Benj. Hodges
Wm. Gray jr.

Mr. Gray's business activities were not confined to shipping: he was one of the petitioning proprietors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct[1] in 1797, along with Mr. Joshua Ward and Mr. Edward Southwick, and when the Essex Bridge was decided on in 1787, he subscribed to three shares,[2] and became a director of the Company in 1799.[3] Again, in 1803, he was one of the incorporators of the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company,[4] which was one of the earliest insurance companies formed in Salem.

It is almost incredible that he found time for so many activities; Mr. John Adams once said he never knew a man who could do so large a business in so short a time.[5] He is reported to have arisen at dawn and to have finished his correspondence before others had finished their last nap, and his knowledge of what was needed at the different ports he shipped to, and the prices goods ought to bring, was wonderful when one considers the imperfect means of communication at that period.

Hon. Timothy Pickering wrote of him: "William Gray of Salem is a man of unspotted character and for merchantile talents and extent of business, the first merchant in the United States. . . . I can only say that Mr. Gray is a cool, discerning man who does not form his opinions hastily, and is too strongly attached to the Government

[1] Salem *Gazette*, April 4, 1797.

[2] Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. xxx, p. 70.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxx, p. 93.

[4] Salem *Gazette*, March 18, 1803.

[5] Letter from Mr. Gray's grandson, William Gray, of Boston, May 5, 1889.

to

to express dissatisfaction with its measures or the officers who execute them, unless he conceives there is very good cause for it." [1]

When later, in 1808, Mr. Gray supported the Embargo measure despite the fact that it was contrary, not only to his monetary but also to his social interests, he proved the correctness of the latter part of Mr. Pickering's statement.

The following extracts taken from the chapter on "Commerce" in "Historical Sketch of Salem," by C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, give a good idea of the extended trade of Mr. Gray, and also in many instances show what were the importations from the different countries. From the dates, he seems to have been among the first to trade with the Far East.

"In 1790 brig William and Henry, Benjamin Hodges, master, 150 tons, arrived from Canton to Gray & Orne.

"In June, 1799, from Canton ship Elizabeth, Daniel Sage, master, to William Gray.[2]

"In July, 1800, ship Pallas from Canton, William Ward, master, to Samuel Gray, William Gray, and Joseph

[1] Pickering Manuscripts, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. XII, p. 390. Timothy Pickering to E. Stevens November 29, 1799. Later on, when Mr. Gray had left the Federalist party and had supported the Embargo, Mr. Pickering's opinion of him seems to have undergone a radical change; cf. letter from T. Pickering to W. Read, March 3, 1812 (vol. XIV p. 386), in which Mr. Pickering calls Mr. Gray "in private affairs a shuffler, in public affairs a contemptible trimmer." Mr. Pickering could not say too much against those who differed from him in politics.

[2] Our William Gray was the only William Gray in Salem at this period who was a shipowner.

Peabody, with a cargo of tea and sugar, paying a duty of $66,927.65.

"Entered in August, 1794, from India, brig Enterprise, William Ward, master, consigned to William Gray, and other entries the following years.

"Entered from Calcutta in August, 1804, ship Lucia, Solomon Towne, master, with a cargo of sugar, indigo, and cheroots, to William Gray and others, and paying a duty of $24,001.08.

"Entered from Manila, July, 1801, ship Laurel, Daniel Sage, master, with 115,133 pounds of indigo and 124,683 pounds of sugar, consigned to William Gray, and paying a duty of $32,382.26.

"In May, 1806, ship Horace, John Parker, master, entered from Manila, consigned to William Gray.

"From Isle of France, March, 1794, ship Aurora, Thomas Meek, master, with 424,034 pounds of sugar consigned to William Gray.

"From Surinam, brig Lydia, Eben Shillaber, master, August, 1796, to William Gray.

"Brig Ceres, Thomas Simmons, master, entered from Russia October, 1789, with 1546 pieces of sail-cloth and sheeting, 180 bundles of hemp, 948 bars of iron, and 359 hundredweight of cordage, to William Gray.

"Brig Hind, John Bickford, master, cleared for the Baltic, June 17, 1790, with 600 barrels of tar, 10 barrels of turpentine, 4 hogsheads of tobacco, 27 casks of rice, 21 hogsheads of New England rum, and 73 chests of Hyson tea, and entered from St. Petersburg on her return in November, 1790.

"The

"The brig Minerva, Archelaus Rea, master, from Alicant in May, 1802, with brandy and salt, to William Gray.

"From Copenhagen, brig Francis, J. Wallace, master, November, 1792, with iron and glass consigned to William Gray. The early trade with Copenhagen seems to have been carried on largely by Mr. Gray."

Felt mentions E. Hasket Derby and William Gray as importing from Copenhagen several horses of a superior grade in 1796.[1]

"From Gottenburg, ship Rising States, Benjamin Beckford, Jr., master, entered February, 1804, with hemp, to William Gray.

"Ship Essex, Solomon Stanwood, master, from Amsterdam September, 1800, with 42,871 pounds of cheese, 5000 pounds of nails, and 8000 gallons of gin, to Nathaniel West and William Gray.

"From Hamburg, brig Salem, Oliver Obear, master, in June, 1799, with gin and hemp, to William Gray.

"From Leghorn, ship Lucia, Thomas Meek, master, in July, 1800, with brandy, soap, etc., to William Gray, and paying a duty of $20,301.

"From Mediterranean ports were imported: salt, wine, brandy, figs, raisins, almonds, candles, and soap."

I find in the advertising columns of the Salem "Gazette" the following notice to the public:—

Imported in Brig Enterprise, Captain Hathorne, just arrived from Cadiz and for sale at the store of

WILLIAM GRAY, JUN.,

Sherry and Malaga wines, of the first quality in quarter casks;
A few boxes of lemons — casks of raisins and casks of Brandy.

[1] Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, vol. II, p. 145.

May also be had as above
Bar and sheet lead, if applied for soon.

SALEM, May 26th, 1794.[1]

"From Marseilles, ship Ulysses, William Mugford, master, in August, 1804, with prunes, almonds, 18,199 pounds of soap, 48,233 gallons of wine, and 1571 gallons of brandy, consigned to William Gray."

[1] Salem *Gazette*, July 22, 1794.

CHAPTER II

1800-1810

AS I have said before, in 1800 Mr. Gray built a house in Essex Street. It stood well back from the street surrounded by ample gardens. It was of square colonial type, red brick with white trimmings, three storeys in height with a cupola on top, and was at that time one of the finest houses in Salem.[1] From under its spacious roof great hospitality was dispensed, not only

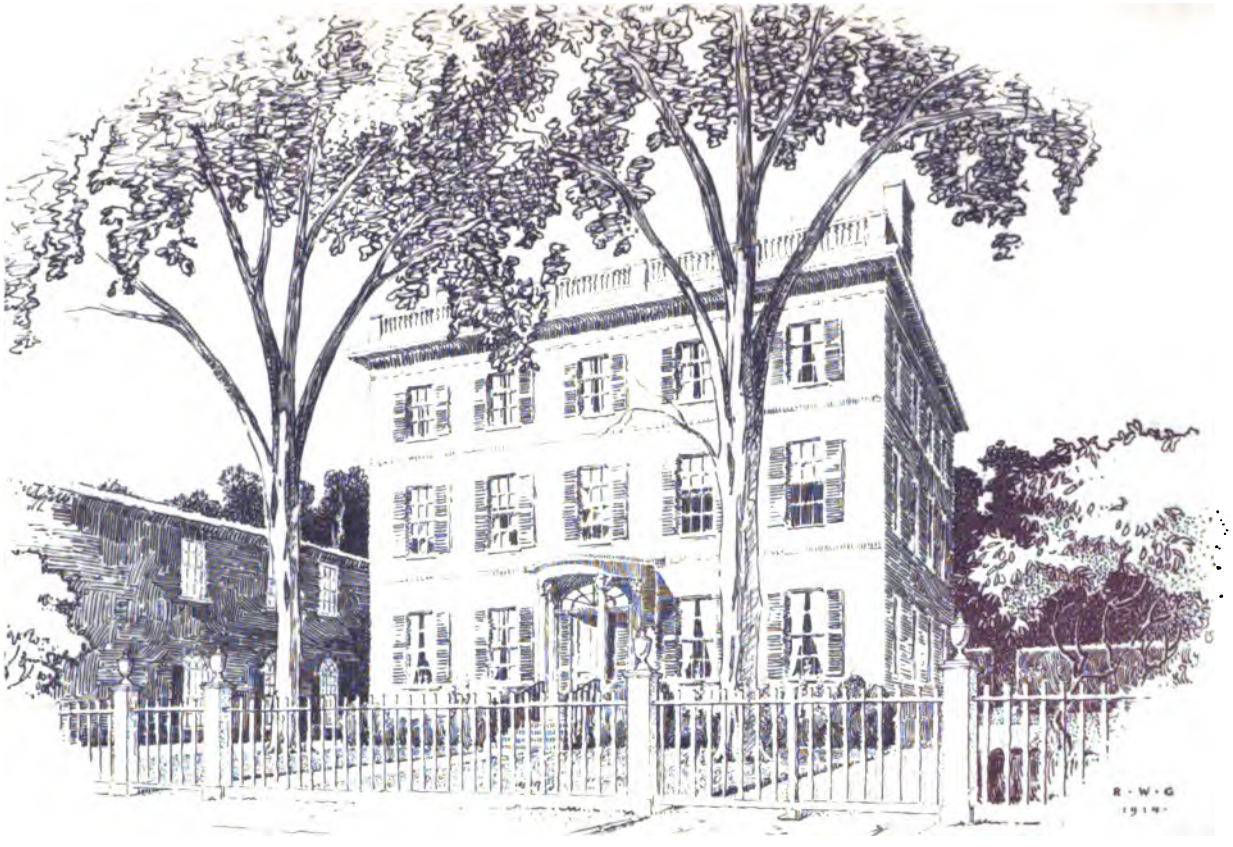
[1] In the Salem *Gazette*, February 4, 1806, there is the following list of brick buildings standing in Salem at the beginning of 1806:—

WARD No. 1

	Houses	*Stores*	*Built*
Essex Street, E. S. Lang		1	1803
Benjamin Dodge	1		1805
Henry Rust		1	
Washington Street, John Daland		1	
Market Street, Hathorne & Gray		1	1805
Fish Street, Samuel Gray		1	
Charter Street, Gilbert Chadwick		1	1805
Vine Street, Jonathan Mason	1		
Nathan Peirce	1		1805
Water Street, Smith & Douglass		1	1804
Neptune Street, Eliphalet Butman		1	1802
Union Wharf, Page & Ropes		1	
Derby Street, Henry Prince	1		
Moses Townsend	1		1805

by

William Gray's House, Salem


R·W·G
1914

by Mr. and Mrs. Gray, but, to quote from Mrs. M. C. D. Silsbee's "A Half Century in Salem" (pp. 3, 4), by their

WARD No. 2

	Houses	*Stores*	*Built*
Essex Street, John Gardner	1		1805
William Gray	1		
Chase & Rust	1		1769
Jacob P. Rust	1		
Court Street, William Stearns		1	

WARD No. 3

	Houses	*Stores*	*Built*
Essex Street, Henry Rust	1		
John Hathorne	1		
John Appleton	1		1772
Abel Lawrence	1		
Mrs. Haraden	1		
Washington Street, Joseph Ropes	1		1805
Joshua Ward	1	1	
Summer Street, Joseph Baker		1	
Chestnut Street, Daniel Gregg	1		1805
Jonathan Hodges	1		1805
Thomas Saunders	1		1805
Warren Street, Charles Cleveland	1		1805

WARD No. 4

	Houses	*Stores*	*Built*
Essex Street, Albert Gray	1		
Daniel Saunders	1		
Robert Peele	1		
Federal Street, Joseph Sprague		1	
Court Street, John Derby	1		
Archelaus Rea	1		
Boston Street, Jonathan Dean	1		
	26	13	

daughter

daughter as well: "Our party at Lucia Gray's[1] was pleasanter than could have been expected at this season; we had a good deal to eat and to drink, and considerable con-

BUILDINGS OF OTHER DESCRIPTIONS

Court-House, in Court Street
Baptist Meeting-House, Marlborough Street
Salem Bank, Essex Street
Sugar House, Ash Street
R. Stone's Distillery, Neptune Street
John Norris' Distillery, Water Street
William Gray's Stable, St. Peter's Street
Two work shops of one storey in Derby Street
Fort Pickering on Winter Island
Powder House, in Great Pasture

11

BUILDINGS PARTLY OF BRICK

Sun Tavern	Essex Street
Captain Sage's House	Essex Street
Ebenezer Smith	Essex Street
John Watson	Union Street
John Rust's	County Street
Widow of Daniel Rust	County Street
Josiah Parsons	Water Street
James Pope's	Marlborough Street
Rev. Mr. Spalding's	Summer Street
William Faben's	High Street
Stephen Phillips'	Chestnut Street
Richard Savary's	Briggs Court

12

62 in all out of about 2000 buildings

[1] Lucia Gray was the daughter of William Gray and married Samuel Swett. To quote Mrs. Silsbee: "A voluntary was a dance for which the gentlemen were at liberty to engage their partners; a draw-dance was a sort of lottery — the ladies and gentlemen each had numbers and might or might not be especially pleased with their luck."

versation,

versation, and to crown all we closed the evening with a reel to the music of the piano. I had Leverett Saltonstall for my partner, a sensible, agreeable, good-natured soul, and to be sure, in spite of the heat, we jigged it away most merrily." Again: "We have had a little ball at Lucia Gray's—dances all voluntary, not a very judicious arrangement for Salem. I wore a new dress made for the occasion, and had ample leisure, before going in to the dancing room, to criticise the pretty drapery of Miss Martha West while sipping a preliminary cup of tea. Mr. John Pickering invited me for the first voluntary; I had the pleasure of sitting still the second; my partner for the third was Mr. Prince, fourth, Henry Pickering, fifth, John Stone, sixth, Mr. Swett, seventh and last, Mr. White."

In 1800 Mr. Gray's eldest son, William R. Gray, graduated from Harvard College and Mr. Bentley mentions Mr. Gray, his father, as being among those who gave entertainments on that occasion.[1] Later, in 1803, when Mr. Gray bought a wharf in Charlestown, William R. went to Boston as his agent, registering some of his vessels from that port.

By 1801 the population of Salem had reached 9457,[2] and from that date until the enforcement of the Embargo Act in 1807, Salem was at the height of her enterprise

[1] Bentley, vol. II, p. 344, July 16, 1800.

[2] Salem *Impartial Register*, April 20, 1801. Rev. William Bentley was an editor of this paper at a later date, and a great many references to Mr. Gray occur both in the *Register* and in his *Diary*. When this is the case, the *Diary* alone is mentioned, as it is in many libraries and is more easily accessible to the average reader than are the files of the *Register*. The *Register* was Republican in politics, and the *Gazette*, Federalist.

and

and prosperity; her ships were seen on every sea and her merchants were known the world over. These were the years of Mr. Gray's greatest activity in Salem, and he was employing annually on the average about three hundred seamen. These figures he gave in a sworn statement made before the Committee on Impressment in Boston in 1813, in which he said that for the last fifteen or twenty years he had employed about three hundred seamen annually upon the average.[1] Mr. Gray's letter of instructions to Captain John R. Dalling in 1804 is interesting because it shows the cargoes shipped to and brought from India at this period, and also because it gives a list of the prices current on different articles in America and in Europe. It is interesting to note that Mr. Thomas W. Ward, a son of Captain William Ward referred to in the previous chapter, was first mate on this voyage.

SALEM, Sept. 7th, 1804.

CAPT. JOHN R. DALLING

The ship Ulysses under your command being ready for sea you will embrace the first opportunity and proceed for Bombay in the East Indies. Upon your arrival sell the cargo now on board for the most it will fetch or such part of it as you suppose most for my interest in case you can sell the whole and suppose it will promote the interest of the voyage you will proceed for Muscat upon the coast of Arabia, there purchase coffee, drugs, and medicines and saltpetre and when you have compleated your business there, proceed for Boston in this State, in case you cannot sell the whole of your cargo at Bombay

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, April 3, 1813.

and

and suppose it will be for my interest to go on with the residue to Pondicherry, Madrass and Calcutta you have liberty to go to one or all those places and there compleate your business.

In case you can only sell the part of your cargo at Bombay and it shall then appear to you to be for my interest to have you go on to Canton with a cargo of cotton, you will do that taking on with you such articles as you cannot sell and if you think proper touch at Malaca in the Streights of Malaca to sell such part of your cargo as remains upon hand then proceed for Canton in China. There invest the whole proceeds in Nankeens, fine teas, and such other goods as you suppose will produce most profit, when you have compleated your business in India or China proceed to this place or Boston in this state. As it is impossible to give you instructions in all cases I must leave you to conduct this voyage as you think will best promote my interest, but by no means break any acts of trade or laws of any nation. You have herewith several price currants of merchandize in this country as well as Europe, by which you can calculate what price it will answer to pay for them in India. In case you sell part of your Cargo at Bombay and do not think it for my interest to purchase there, and you find you can obtain undoubted bills for what you do sell upon Calcutta, take them and remit them to Damchunder Benarjea of Calcutta for my account. In case you come home from Muscat, if you can obtain one or two handsome fleet Arabian Stone horses for breeders take them on board provided the price doth not exceed two hundred dollars cost, you can bring them on deck

deck placing them near the centre of the vessel. Provided you find it impossible to make sales of your cargo at Bombay and suppose it will be for my interest to go from there to Calcutta you may proceed. That amt or upon the whole, conduct as you think will most promote my interest. In case any accident should happen to you during the voyage then I appoint Mr. Thomas W. Ward your present mate to conduct the business as you would or could have done had no such accident happened.

In case any accident should happen to both Capt. Dalling and Mr. Ward then the second mate Mr. James Dunn is to conduct the voyage agreeable to the foregoing instructions. Capt. Dalling is to have a priviledge of carrying an adventure in the Ulysses not exceeding five tons he is to have two and half per cent. commission for what merchandize he sells and two and half per cent commissions for what he purchases but is not to have any commissions for selling money or specie. In case he should negotiate any bills he is not to have any commissions for that but two and half per cent for investing the proceeds of said bills.

Commiting you to Almighty protection and wishing you a successful voyage

Am yr sincere friend

Wm. Gray Jr.

Memorandum and price currant for Capt. John R. Dalling of the Ship Ulysses

Good refined salt petre may be had at Muscat but the common unrefined is often mixed with common salt. By puting the real salt petre upon a coal of fire it will melt and

and burn, but if mixed with salt it will sparkle when put on fire, you may calculate Salt Petre to be worth sixteen cents per pound in this Country.

Prices articles in America		*in Europe*
Mocha coffee	25 cents	28 to 30 cents
Salt petre	20 cents	16 to 20 cents
Opium	3 to 3½ doll p. ℔.	
Asafatida	40 cents	
Gum arabic	20 to 25 cents	33 cents
Gum Tragaconth	50 cents	
Columba Root	40 to 50 cents	
Sago	10 cents	
Mace	6 dollars	
Cloves	80 cents	
Bengal indigo	175 cents	

I presume cotton generally can be purchased at about 10 cents per pound perhapse it may be lower now or it may be very dull so that they will give a great price for your goods payable in cotton in which case perhapse you may think it for our interest to purchase cotton and carry it to Canton where I expect you will generally obtain about 18 to 20 cents the pound. But in case anyone should want you to take freight, it will not answer for you to take freight for the subject of any power at war as in that case you will be liable to be stoped and detained.

You must not attempt to cover any property but if you find it for my interest to draw bills you have liberty to value upon me here or upon Messrs. Bainbridge Ansley & Co. London not to exceed twenty two thousand dollars or five thousand pounds sterling.

WM. GRAY JR.[1]

[1] Letter in possession of George B. Dorr, Esq.

In

In November, 1806, Salem had 73 ships, 11 barques, and 48 brigs engaged in foreign commerce, and of these about one fourth were owned by William Gray.[1]

During this period, politics in Salem ran high and the line of distinction between Federalist and Republican was drawn with even personal animosity, there being almost no social intercourse between those of different political opinions.[2] In 1801 the Republicans were in the minority, the Federalist party, to which Mr. Gray belonged, containing most of the wealth and talent of the town.[3] Mr. Gray, however, did not carry his party feelings to the extent many others did. Consequently, when an association was formed among the Federalists in 1802 not to employ the friends of Mr. Crowninshield, who was a Republican, it did not succeed in its purpose through the manly opposition of Mr. Gray,[4] who put fairness and justice ahead of party animosities.

In 1804, at a meeting of the Federalists, Mr. Gray was chosen Moderator,[5] and William Gray, Jr., Esq., Jonathan Waldo, Esq., and Mr. Nathaniel Bowditch were chosen as Federalist candidates for Representatives to the General Court,[6] the anti-Federalist candidates being John Hathorne, Esq., William Cleveland, Esq., and Mr. John Southwick.[7] The Republicans had a majority in this election, their

[1] Felt, *Annals of Salem*, vol. II, p. 320.
[2] W. W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, vol. I, p. 86.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Bentley, vol. II, p. 459, November 11, 1802.
[5] Salem *Gazette*, March 20, 1804.
[6] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1804.
[7] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1804.

candidates

candidates receiving 529 votes as against 443,[1] and, to quote the Salem "Register," the Republican paper: "Though the Federalists brought forward Mr. William Gray, Jr., the greatest and richest merchant in the United States, at the head of their ticket, they have now found that wealth united with great personal influence has weighed only as the dust of the balance."[2]

Mr. Gray was gradually being drawn more and more into politics and appears on the Federalist Committee of Correspondence for the next two years,[3] the second year being designated as William Gray, instead of William Gray, Jr., the elder William Gray having died in January, 1806.[4]

In March, 1807, the Federalists of Essex County nominated the following candidates: For Governor, His Excellency, Caleb Strong; for Lieutentant-Governor, His Honor, Edward H. Robbins; for Senators from Essex County, Hon. Enoch Titcomb, Hon. John Heard, Hon. John Phillips, Jr., Hon. Nathaniel Thurston, Israel Thorndike, and William Gray, Esquires.[5] In the edition of the Salem "Gazette" of March 31, there is a note to the effect that "Mr. Gray having for many years used the addition of Junior to his name, it may be necessary to remind the Electors to *omit* it now, as he is no longer Junior." Hon. James Sullivan, the Republican candidate, was elected Governor of Massachusetts, but the Federalist Senators from Essex County were elected.[6]

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 86, May 15, 1804.
[2] Salem *Register*, May 17, 1804.
[3] Salem *Gazette*, March 26, 1805; March 28, 1806.
[4] *Ibid.*, January 21, 1806.
[5] *Ibid.*, March 24, 1807. [6] *Ibid.*, April 9, 1807.

The

The British Government had issued Orders in Council in May, 1806, declaring a blockade of the whole Continent of Europe from Brest to the Elbe. A few months later, in November of the same year, Napoleon issued his famous "Berlin Decree," which declared a blockade of the British Isles, and forbade neutrals to trade with them. This amounted to nothing more than a paper blockade, as Napoleon had no navy with which to enforce his decree. The following January, England answered by further Orders in Council which declared that all ports from which the British flag was excluded were closed to neutral ships, allowing direct trade from the United States to Sweden only, in American products, and permitting American trade with other parts of Europe only on condition of touching at England and paying duties. Napoleon answered this in December, 1807, by the "Milan Decree," which declared that any ship which submitted to search by a British cruiser was thereby "denationalized" and was liable to arrest as a vagrant by French cruisers, and, furthermore, that all vessels going to or sailing from Great Britain were for that fact alone good prize. The commercial situation was this: if a neutral vessel cleared for any Continental port she was liable to be taken by some British vessel, and if, to avoid this, she entered a British port, landed her cargo and reshipped it, she was liable to be seized by the French. This theoretically put a stop to almost our whole Continental trade, though neutral vessels still went from port to port, running great risks, but earning large freights.

The Republican party of the United States was almost exclusively

exclusively agricultural and had little sympathy with commercial interests. It was also pledged to the reduction of national expenses, and the President, Mr. Jefferson, was opposed to a navy and to war as well. Various retaliatory measures to the above decrees were proposed, and finally the Embargo Act was passed on December 22, 1807, which prohibited all shipments from the United States to foreign countries. This measure was expected to starve Great Britain into a change of policy, but the result was, that not only those engaged in shipping, but eventually the agricultural districts of the United States as well, suffered from it.

As soon as the Embargo Act was passed there was strong opposition from the seaports; and the Federalist party, in New England in particular, to which most of the great merchants belonged, did everything in its power to defeat the measure. It did not lessen their resentment to know that the act had been passed largely by Southern and Western votes. William Gray, although he admitted it was a ruinous measure, claimed that it was a constitutional one and supported it, and consequently became the storm centre in Salem.

Mr. Gray had been reëlected State Senator from Essex County on the Federalist ticket in April, 1808.[1] In the following June he openly vindicated the Embargo in the Senate, and opposed the resolutions directed against the General Government which were offered to the Legislature by Mr. Leban Wheaton.[2] This conduct caused great

[1] Salem *Gazette*, March 25, 1808; April 5, 1808.

[2] Bentley, vol. III, p. 364, June 7, 1808; June 9, 1808.

concern

concern to the alarmists because of Mr. Gray's position and influence as one of the greatest merchants in Salem. He was attacked in speeches and in the press, and finally was forced to vindicate himself in a letter to the "Printer" of the Salem "Gazette," dated August 11, in which he says that he is compelled to declare facts; he thought he had a right to his own opinions, and he owned no submission to France, of which he was accused. When the Embargo Act was passed, he thought it a constitutional measure and did not think it proper to oppose it; also he thought it prudent and necessary. He goes on to answer the general accusation of the Federalists and others opposed to the Embargo, accusing him of making money out of the general distress, by stating that instead of growing rich he was ready to demonstrate his situation and show that his estate had declined ten per cent since the Embargo began.[1]

Dr. O. T. Howe, in his historical notes to the "Auto-

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 377, August 12, 1808; Salem *Gazette*, August 12, 1808.

Mr. CUSHING

I observe in your paper of Friday last, over the signature "Cuesta" a piece imputing to me base and sordid motives for approving the Embargo; in consequence of that, I am compelled to declare to the public, *facts*, and leave them to judge how far selfishness has influenced my opinion and conduct.

It is suggested that I set the opinions of others at defiance.

I have presumed to think for myself, and made the Constitution my guide; however mistaken I may be, my intentions are at least correct, nor do I defy or condemn others, for thinking differently; and so far from excusing the Administration for submission to France, had I perceived symptoms of submission to that, or any other foreign power, sooner than

biography

biography of Captain Zachary G. Lamson" (page 36), gives an impression of Mr. Gray at this period which is entirely wrong. He refers to the Salem "Gazette" and other Federalist papers which assert that Mr. Gray was making large profits out of the Embargo, and does not quote the Salem "Register," or the letter just referred to, in which Mr. Gray refutes the said charges and is willing

advocate such measures, I would devote my whole property for the support of the Independence of the United States.

When the Embargo law passed, I thought it a Constitutional measure, and I did not think proper to oppose it. The policy of the measure has been much questioned; yet I think the then existing circumstances rendered it prudent and necessary; as Great Britain had threatened and had at that time passed (though not officially known to us) the orders of council of the 11th November, 1807, authorizing the capture and condemnation of all vessels, bound from the United States, that should sail for France, or the countries of her allies, after the orders of council were known in America; which included all Europe, except Great Britain, Gibraltar, Malta, and perhaps Sweden; at those places very few of those articles, which we generally export, are admitted, and I think fewer still would have brought the cost and charges. Great Britain, it is said, would have permitted us, after touching there, and paying duties, to go to France and the countries of her allies. Is there an independent American who would submit to such impositions?

Bonaparte had threatened to put in operation his "Berlin Decree," which he had, however, forborne to do, so far as I know, except in one instance, of the Horizon, wrecked upon the French coast; but his severe and tyrannical decree of 17th December last, called the "Milan Decree," passed, declaring all vessels, that should be spoken with by the British, liable to capture, which decree almost precluded the possibility of escape from capture or detention. After these restrictions on our Commerce, had not the Embargo been laid, I think a great part of our vessels, sent for the continent of Europe, would have been captured and condemned by the British, (as their orders authorized condemnation) and probably the remnant would have fallen into the hands of the French. Had these

to

to submit his books to inspection to show that his estate had declined. Dr. Howe goes on to say that he does not know whether Mr. Gray was a gainer or not by the Embargo, but from his quotations, he gives the distinct impression that Mr. Gray was a great gainer.[1] It would have been only fair to present Mr. Gray's side of the question, as his statements concerning his private affairs were

events taken place, the effect upon the public mind would I think have provoked war; this, added to the immense loss, which the Americans would have sustained by capture and condemnation, must, I think, have been a far greater evil than the Embargo; though that, taken separately from these considerations, is a serious evil; yet, as a proof that it was necessary, I find, out of seven vessels, which sailed from this district for the continent of Europe, in the month preceding the commencement of the Embargo, not one ever reached her destined port in safety.

It is insinuated that I am growing rich, while others are suffering by the Embargo: I have not reaped any advantages from it, that I know of, in any form whatever; those who best know me can say, whether I have benefited others, or taken advantage of their necessity. So far from reaping profit from the Embargo, my estate has declined more than ten per cent in value since its operation, which I am ready to demonstrate to any person desirous of investigating the subject.

WILLIAM GRAY.

SALEM, August 11, 1808.

[1] Newburyport *Herald*, August 26, 1808: "Mr. Gray having an immense property in France and countries subject to France is in favor of that policy which will preserve peace with Napoleon, and having a good stock of Indian, Russian and Italian goods on hand, he is daily growing richer by the Embargo."

Boston *Palladium*, January 13, 1809: "The people who were the greatest gainers by the Embargo were the great capitalists, who had on hand, when the Embargo was laid, immense stocks of foreign goods which this unjust system has occasioned to rise, . . . Mr. Gray of Salem must have been a great gainer." The above are the quotations given.

presumably

presumably more correct than those of his detractors. It seems strange, indeed, when all the merchants were being ruined by the Embargo Act, that Mr. Gray should stand out as the only merchant who was a gainer; yet this is just what the Federalist party and press claimed, while they took no notice whatever of his statements to the contrary.

The Republicans all over the State, as an argument in favor of the Embargo, quoted Mr. Gray of Salem as supporting it;[1] while the Salem "Gazette," a Federalist paper, as an argument against the measure, quotes Mr. William Gray as saying that his property had depreciated at the rate of ten per cent,[2] and says: "Though he tells us he thinks it a wise measure, is yet candid enough to acknowledge it a ruinous one."[3] Thus he was a storm centre, each side quoting his sayings to its own advantage.

All the New England States had in their respective Legislatures a majority against the General Government,[4] and New England was in a ferment. This condition of affairs is well reflected in the town meeting held in Salem on October 26, 1808, of which Mr. Bentley writes: "This day was a struggle of parties. Agreeably to the petition a Town Meeting had been warned and the place was the Tabernacle. The parties assembled in full house at 9 and

[1] Salem *Gazette*, September 2, 1808. Republicans and Democrats were names interchangeably used. The Republican party of those days represents the Democratic party of to-day; the Federalist, the present-day Republican.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1808.

[3] *Ibid.*, September 2, 1808.

[4] Bentley, vol. III, p. 383, September 10, 1808.

at

at 1 adjourned till 3 and did not finish their business till sundown. The principal speaker was Mr. W. Gray who spoke with great ease and clearness. He was clapped by the republicans and hissed by the federalists. Mr. Story and others spoke on the same side. In opposition was Col. B. Pickman, Junr. and his associates. Mr. Gray explained the history of the embargo and the nature of the British tribute and was supported by the presence of Capt. Joseph White to whom great attention is paid in this town and who very seldom is found to interest himself in town matters. Upon the whole the vote was taken whether to petition Congress, and the republican majority against the petition was above 100 out of nearly 1000 votes. In the course of the argument the condition of the poor was mentioned. Mr. Gray then stated the case fairly and then declared that he had given the Overseers leave to draw upon him for any sum and that he was ready till the last cent should it be necessary. This eminent merchant obtained high honor from the friends of our country on this occasion. After the meeting the town was in the silence of midnight."[1]

The sailors and other poor thrown out of work by the Embargo were beginning to suffer severely. In the following January, Mr. Gray was giving two barrels of flour a week to the poor, and promised one a day if necessity so required.[2] Captain Joseph White gave one hundred bushels of corn; Captain G. Crowninshield, biscuits, rice, and such material, and a soup-house was opened by sub-

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 391, October 26, 1808.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 409, January 20, 1809.

scription.

scription.[1] Party spirit ran so high that Mr. Gray's enemies tried to detract from his generosity and public spirit by saying that he gave counterfeit bills and sour flour.[2]

The next month, Mr. Gray's designation as Prefect of the Salem section, with power to issue certificates to importers from the southward,[3] added fuel to the fire. Mr. Bentley says that he was persecuted incessantly and was excluded from all his former associates.[4] As I have before stated, political feeling was so intense that the members of the opposite parties had very little social intercourse, and at this period, even in Salem, the two parties hated each other as much as the French and English hated each other in war-time.[5] Consequently Mr. Gray, who was a Federalist, by supporting the Embargo Act, which was a Republican measure, cut himself off from all his former friends and associates who belonged to the Federalist party. It must have taken a great deal of patriotism and moral courage to support a measure which he knew from the first was thoroughly unpopular, to say nothing of its being contrary to his business interests; but did it not take much more patriotism and moral courage to support such a measure when it meant losing most of his friends? Mr., later Justice, Joseph Story wrote from Washington: "I wish Mr. Gray to understand that his conduct has gained him the highest respect in every part of the Union.

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 412, January 29, 1809.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 409, January 20, 1809.
[3] Salem *Gazette*, February 10, 1809.
[4] Bentley, vol. III, p. 417, February 19, 1809.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 479, November 24, 1809.

The

The Administration view him as one of the most truly honorable patriots in the country." [1]

Mr. Gray declined to run again as Senator from Essex County,[2] and his last public office in Salem was when he was chosen Moderator of the town meeting on March 13, 1809.[3] Life in Salem was made so disagreeable for him by the Federalists that, shortly after this, he removed to Boston,[4] where he had bought the house of Governor Sullivan, on the corner of Summer and Hawley Streets, on the side nearer the water.[5]

When William Gray left Salem, he was owner of fifteen ships, seven barques, thirteen brigs, and one schooner,[6] and Mr. Bentley says that his estate was reckoned at three millions of dollars.[7] His assessment in Salem in 1808 was: —

[1] W. W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, vol. I, p. 173; letter to Mr. Joseph White, Jr., December 31, 1808.

[2] Salem *Gazette*, February 24, 1808: "We are requested to mention for the information of the Electors of Essex County, that the Hon. William Gray declines being a candidate for the Senate for the ensuing year."

[3] *Ibid.*, March 14, 1809.

[4] Mr. Bentley (vol. III, p. 449, July 28, 1809) mentions "Mr. W. Gray, who was formerly a merchant of Salem."

[5] In 1808, Mr. Gray acquired a house and land in Cambridge, and spent part of the time there every summer during the rest of his life. The house was bought of Mr. Jonathan Hastings. The main body of the house was not then finished, but there was attached to it, as an ell, a building of a very much earlier date. Mr. Gray finished building the house. It is still standing on what is now Brattle Street, having always been owned and occupied by some one of Mr. Gray's descendants. — *Author.*

[6] Felt, *Annals of Salem*, vol. II, p. 326.

[7] Bentley, vol. III, p. 417, February 19, 1809.

Homestead

William Gray Homestead, Cambridge

Homestead	$15,000
Wharf and warehouses	6,000
3 Common rights	150
13 Acres of land in North Fields	450
Shipping and stock	705,000
Income	12,000
	$738,600

And his taxes were

Poll-tax, State	$0.28
Real "	20.52
Personal "	669.75
Income "	11.40
	$701.95

Poll-tax, Town and County	$1.21
Real " "	87.58
Personal " "	2858.07
Income " "	48.68
	$2995.54 [1]

Since Mr. Gray's removal to Boston in 1809, his Salem home has undergone many changes. In 1814, it became a tavern under the name of the "Essex Coffee-House," and after General Lafayette's last visit to Salem, when he lodged in it, it was renamed the "Lafayette Coffee-House," in his honor. To-day it is again called the "Essex House," though hardly a vestige of its original handsome outline or inside plan remains.

[1] Salem Assessors' Records.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCE[1]

AT the period about which I am writing, long before the invention of the telegraph and cable, and the introduction of steam, commerce had an entirely different aspect from what it has to-day. A captain would sail with instructions to some distant port or ports, to be gone for a year or more. Sometimes in the early voyages to China and India, maritime insurance was so high that in at least one instance (cf. letter of instructions to Captain William Ward, 1792) Mr. Gray mentions carrying very little on the voyage. The captain was given a commission on his sales and purchases, and also had an "adventure" in the voyage; and the final decision on these purchases and sales was left to his judgment, as there was no possible means of conferring with his employer. Consequently a great deal depended on the captain's shrewdness and resourcefulness. Sometimes, too, the captain purchased an interest in his ship. If a cargo was of great importance, a supercargo was sent to assist the captain about his purchases and sales, and in the case of

[1] The only letter-book belonging to Mr. Gray which was not destroyed in the Boston fire, covers the period from 1809 to 1812; consequently this chapter on his commerce covers chiefly that period, and all the facts and letters, unless otherwise stated, are taken from this letter-book, which is the property of John Chipman Gray, Esq., of Boston. For a list of Mr. Gray's vessels see Appendix B.

Mr.

Mr. Gray's ship Trent, for Naples, Mr. Megit, the supercargo, received one per cent on the sales and one per cent on the returns.

A vessel did not necessarily sail to Boston [1] or Salem on the return voyage, but often to New York, New Orleans, Charleston, South Carolina, Baltimore, or any other port where her cargo would sell to the best advantage. If there was no return cargo to be had, the vessel was brought back in ballast. Mr. Gray also did a certain amount of coasting trade, but his chief trade was with foreign countries. He imported such articles as ginger, cotton, indigo, hemp, iron, ravens duck, Russia duck, Corsica wine, German linens, claret, salt, etc.; and exported West India produce, brandy, pine boards and planks, coffee, logwood, fish, sugar, cocoa, rice, staves, Buenos Ayres hides, copper, Peruvian bark, — in fact, any articles for which there was a demand.

His credit must have been of the best, as is clear from the following letters of credit given by him.

BOSTON, Sept. 29, 1809.

CAPT. WILLIAM GALLOP

As you are bound on a voyage to Europe, in case you want funds you have liberty to value on me for what you may want while absent to the amount of two hundred

[1] Mr. Gray had removed to Boston by this time. On March 1, 1809, the Non-Intercourse Law superseded the Embargo Act, and after May, 1810, this was temporarily suspended as regarded both Great Britain and France, and trade was resumed, though the Orders in Council, with various modifications, were still in effect, and Napoleon had not revoked his "Berlin" and "Milan" decrees.

pounds

pounds sterling, and your bills shall meet due honor, what you may draw indorse upon the back of this letter.

Wishing you a successful voyage
I am your friend
WM. GRAY.

BOSTON, Apl. 25, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR

. . . Enclosed you will please to receive a letter of credit, directed to either of my friends in Europe to furnish what you may want to the amount of seven thousand pounds sterling, or thirty thousand dollars, you will please to call for the whole or such part as you wish. . . .

I am, Sir,
With great respect
Your most ob sert
WM. GRAY.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Minister from U. States at the Court of St. Petersburg.[1]

Another method was to draw bills on some European agent in favor of a captain, to be drawn when necessary.

BOSTON, Mch. 10th, 1810.

MESSRS. BAINBRIDGE & BROWN,
London.

GENTLEMEN,

Above you have copy of what I wrote you last, since which I have valued upon you

[1] General Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1810–11, no. 46, Massachusetts Historical Society.

1810,

1810, Feb. 17	in favor	John Treadwell	£92
Mch. 1,	"	Joseph Foster	1000
"	"	Pratt & Andrews	500
6	"	Alex[r] H. Everett	500

On the 15 Feby ult my ship Pactolus, John Bickford master, bound to East Indies sailed. I valued upon you in favor of said Captain the following bills, which he may negociate if he finds it for my interest, annexed you have his signature.

One set	favor Bickford	£5000
One	do	4000
One	do	3000
One	do	2000
One	do	1000
		15000

All the bills at 60 days sight.

I am respectfully, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant

WM. GRAY.

Enclosed is Joseph Moody's 2nd exchange on Bainbridge & Brown in my favor at 60 days sight £1200 sterling.[1]

On December 31, 1809, Mr. Gray had a balance due him with Messrs. Bainbridge & Brown, who seem to have been his London agents at this period, of £38,505. 16*s*. 2*d*.

Another way of doing business was to have a regular correspondent at a given port and to have him assist the captains in their sales and purchases.

[1] In these letters I have followed the spelling and punctuation in the letter-book.

Boston,

Boston, Dec. 22nd, 1809.

Messrs. Vallin Routh & Co.
Naples.

Gentlemen

This I hope will be handed you by Capt. Timothy Newhall of my schooner Louisiana bound to your place, with a cargo of logwood, fish, sugar and cocoa; I request you will assist Capt. Newhall in the sale of this cargo, and invest the proceeds in sewing silks, crepes and lustrings, which ship on board said schooner and dispatch her directly for this port.

If any other of my vessels should be with you, I request you will advise and assist them to proceed as is most for my interest.

Your humble servant,
Wm. Gray.

At times the merchandise was left with the correspondent to be sold as and when he saw fit, and such correspondents were allowed commissions.

Sometimes Mr. Gray seems to have used the above method, but at others, even at the same port, the captain and supercargo did the trading without the aid of the agent.

Again cash was shipped in bulk and a return cargo purchased with it.

Boston, June 16, 1810.

Mr. Ramdollolday,
Benaja.

I have shipped on board the Caravan, Capt. Gilchrist, ten casks containing twenty thousand three hundred and nineteen

nineteen dollars which I request you will invest in indigo under the inspection of Capt. Gilchrist provided you can procure that article, and of the best quality at a price not exceeding one dollar per pound. If the indigo cannot be had at the foregoing terms then please to put the money at interest until the price comes down to the above price.

The goods by Capt. Bickford came to hand in good order.

Your humble servt.

WM. GRAY.

This method of having agents, was a radical change from that pursued in the early voyages to the Far East (cf. letters to Captain William Ward, *supra*), in which the captain was his own purchasing and selling agent.

By 1810, Mr. Gray was beginning to establish correspondents in all European countries, and in Russia, Mr. John Quincy Adams was of great assistance to him.

BOSTON, July 13th, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR;—

I have wrote you frequently, but am loath to miss any opportunity, this goes in my Barque Leopard, Capt. Samuel Barker. I have taken the liberty to instruct him to call upon my son for advice, in his absence upon your Excellency for advice, what house to value upon to assist him in transacting his business, you will readily conceive, my object in referring Capt. Barker to you for advice, as I presume it will give you or my son, an opportunity to oblige your friends, and as you are upon the spot, you must

must know the most solid houses, you will excuse this liberty that I have taken, I do not wish to intrude upon your time or attention from more important avocations to attend to my commercial business but only to name a good Merchant, should you be in want of funds you may appropriate any part of this Cargo to your use, if an advantage can be made by the goods being on hand until winter that mode may be adopted or any other steps that will promote my interest, I expect to write by a vessel that will sail for St. Petersburg in two days, by her I will write you more particular and send a file of newspapers.

I am respectfully

Sir yr Most obt sert

WM. GRAY.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg.[1]

The following extract, taken from a letter to Mr. Adams, shows the prices Mr. Gray was willing to pay for Russian goods:—

Invoice of goods which Wm. Gray desires Mr. Joseph S. Farley to have purchased at St. Petersburg next winter.

1000 tons of old Sable iron if it can be purchased at a price not exceeding ten pounds sterling per ton.

[1] General Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1810–11, no. 76, Massachusetts Historical Society. The manuscript diary of John Quincy Adams gives the profit made on an earlier voyage to Russia: "November 8, 1809. Captain Beckford called upon us this morning, but returned this day to Cronstadt. His cargo makes a great voyage for Mr. Gray. By the sale of the goods he will clear about 115,000 dollars upon the cargo neat proceeds."

1000

1000 tons clean hemp, if it can be purchased at a price not exceeding thirty pounds sterling per ton.

5000 ps of the best Russia sailcloth if it can be had not exceeding fifty shillings sterling per pd.

5000 ps. Russia sheeting called Flems if it can be had not exceeding forty five shillings sterling per pd for the payment of these goods, Bills on Messrs. Bainbridge & Brown of London for account of Wm. Gray, which bills will be paid provided they have a *certificate* accompanying them signed by His Excellency John Quincy Adams that they are for my account.

WM. GRAY.

BOSTON MASSACHUSETTS, 3rd October, 1810.[1]

Mr. Gray was careful to instruct his captains in the various acts of trade of European nations, and wished them always to adhere to said regulations.

BOSTON, Jan. 21, 1811.

MR. JOSEPH G. COGSWELL
London

SIR

. . . by no means break any acts of trade, or laws of any nation. Perhaps if the oil is sold, by Mr. Cogswell's going over to France, he may obtain a permit to go with an empty vessel, and take another cargo of oil at Gallipoli and proceed to St. Petersburg. I am content to hazard the vessel, and fifty or sixty thousand dollars anywhere, where the prospect is good. If nothing better can be

[1] General Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1810–11, no. 122, Massachusetts Historical Society.

done,

where it will sell to advantage except Russia under existing circumstances, if you can purchase of Messrs. Scott Burn & Co. their part of this cargo at a price not exceeding what it would have neated in London, at the time it would have arrived, and the vessel at a price not exceeding five thousand dollars for the whole, please to purchase and pay for her on my account. This proposal I make with a view to give the London owners opportunity to make new insurance, or to make arrangements with the old underwriters, and not only to do justice to all parties, but to save both Capt. Lander and Mr. Cogswell from blame. The silks on board the Radius, I presume ought to go to England, where I can send them after they arrive here. . . . I request you will transact the business of the Radius as you think most for my interest, perhaps Messrs. Scott Burn & Co. will give you better terms, or may have proposed more advantageous terms, that you can ask them. Resting assured that you will do everything in your power to promote my interest

I am yours sincerely

WM. GRAY.

BOSTON, May 29, 1811.

MESSRS. RYBURG & Co.

Copenhagen.

GENTLEMEN

. . . of this you may be assured I never have or will screen or cover any property for the British or any other foreigner. . . .

Your most obt. sevt.

WM. GRAY.

He

He was also scrupulous about obeying the laws of his own country.

Boston, June 9th, 1812.

Capt. Stephen White & Co.

Salem.

Gentlemen

I have received your letter of the 7th inst. If the Mary & Eliza should be so unfortunate as to be captured, and she can be ransomed before condemnation, I am content to contribute my proportion, but I think purchasing after condemnation would be counteracting, or defeating the laws of our Government so much, that I had rather not be concerned in the purchase.

Your humble servant

Wm. Gray.

Again putting patriotism ahead of anything else, as he had done during the Embargo.

Mr. Gray was always interested in and willing to aid young men in starting a business,[1] and was particularly solicitous about his captains when he thought of retiring from business himself.

Boston, June 17th, 1812.

Capt. Picket

I ought to have answered yours sooner respecting your request to loan your son-in-law some money, to which I shall have no objection with your indorsement, but I pre-

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 416, February 15, 1809.

sume

sume there is some salary due you, which I am ready to pay. I did not know but you prefer letting him that. This brought to my consideration whether considering my infirm health, and advanced age, I had not better close my commercial transactions and sell off my navigation, as soon as there is an opening, which I have concluded to do, therefore I shall have no employment for you much longer. I suggest this now, that you may be looking around what is best to be done, I have thought it would be for your interest to hire a rope walk in Charlestown, or Newburyport, or Bath, in either place I will furnish you stock, as long as I have any, upon advantageous terms and wish you to pursue such courses as are for your interest. I do not wish to dictate, but only suggest what will be for your interest; you must determine for yourself.

I am your real friend

WM. GRAY.

He did not, however, retire as he here proposes, but started business again after the War of 1812, and kept on registering new vessels yearly until the year of his death, 1825, registering his last vessel when he was seventy-five years old.

It may be interesting to know the price of vessels prior to 1812. In the letter of instructions to Captain William Ward, dated August 9, 1792 (see above, chapter 1), Mr. Gray says the brig Enterprise cost five thousand dollars. She was built in 1792, and her tonnage was 164 tons, which is a little over $30 per ton. Again, in a letter to Mr.

Mr. Lewis Deblois, dated October 31, 1804, he offers to sell the ship Wells and appurtenances for seven thousand dollars.[1] The Wells was built in 1801, and was 205 tons, which is a little over $34 per ton.

As an example of the wages paid by him at this time, 1809 to 1812, I give the following:[2]—

Brig Rover, Captain William Groves, February, 1811

	Monthly wage	*Privilege*
Captain	$25.	not
Mate	25.	mentioned
2nd Mate	23.	
Seven seamen	21. each	
1 cook	21.	
1 boy	11.	

Ship Horace, Captain Thomas Leach, March, 1811

	Monthly wage	*Privilege*
Captain	$25.	5 tons
Mate	25.	30 cwt.
2nd Mate	23.	20 cwt.
½ the seamen	20.	None
½ the seamen	16.	"
cook	19.	"

Mr. Gray's commercial career extended over about fifty years; during that time, his ships sailed on every sea, and there was hardly a port at which they did not touch. As his ventures were so varied, they were naturally not always successful. At times he lost heavily through confiscation of property by Napoleon and through shipwreck,

[1] Letter in possession of the author.

[2] William Gray's executor's papers.

thus

thus losing not only his ships and cargoes, but his insurance as well, as he was his own underwriter. He did not insure his own property in other offices, though others came often to him for very large insurance, he being an underwriter in as many as ten private offices.[1]

[1] Letter from Mr. Gray's grandson, William Gray, May 5, 1889.

CHAPTER IV

1810–1825

THE attitude of the New England Federalists toward the General Government during the Embargo was so disapproved of by Mr. Gray that he determined to leave the party. He was undoubtedly influenced in this decision by the personal attitude of the Federalists toward himself, which, as we have seen, was particularly bitter and hostile. Having left the Federalist party, shortly after his removal to Boston he was induced to run for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts on the Republican ticket, along with the Honorable Elbridge Gerry for Governor. After a campaign in which, to quote Mr. Bentley, "all the virulence of invective" was heaped on Mr. Gray, and in which "it was impossible to descend to greater meanness than his former professed friends had done because he would not go all lengths with them,"[1] the Republican candidates were elected; the vote for Lieutenant-Governor being, Lieutenant-Governor Cobb, 43,181 votes; Mr. Gray, 46,516; scattering, 220.[2]

Mr. Gray's views on the condition of affairs in Massachusetts and of commerce in general, are given in the following letter to Mr. John Quincy Adams, written shortly after this election: —

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 501, February 27, 1810.

[2] *Columbian Centinel*, June 2, 1810.

Boston,

Boston, July 16th, 1810.

His Excellency John Quincy Adams
Minister Plenipotentiary at
Court St. Petersburg

My dear Sir: —

It is a long time since I have been favored with a line from you, but I hope soon to have a feast of your letters, we begin to think of seeing the Horace soon, from her arrival we anticipate great joy, as then we expect letters from all your family. It is now near two months since we heard from either France or England, and four months since we heard from St. Petersburg, though we have advises from Tonningen and Gottenburg up to the 12th May, we have sent the newspapers by this vessel directed to my son[1] in a box with some books which he wrote for, which you will please to open and peruse, if from any cause he should be absent. Permit me to solicit your kind and parental attention to my son, advise him so to employ his time as will best promote his happiness through life, he is very dear to me, and I have strong hopes that he will be a comfort and support to his parents, in the evening of their lives, and the decline of their days. It is your countenance, advice and instruction I ask, but I do request you will not let him be any expense to you in a pecuniary way.

Your honored Father the President, observed a few days since, that he did not know that you could render your country any service abroad, while Europe was in

[1] Francis Calley Gray.

such

such a state, but your countrymen in general have strong hopes and expectations from your mission.

I think you will be gratified with the change in New England, it is *quite* as great as it appears in the papers. The choice of Governor Gerry has united the people, and they are becoming independent of foreign influence, indeed the Government never was stronger. Our commerce is very much embarrassed, and the rate of premium about the same as when you left home; our merchants begin to see that without a free trade to the Continent of Europe, commerce will not be profitable to them, nor worth pursuing; our manufactures are fast improving, and we shall soon be independent of Europe for most of the necessaries of life.

If you should want funds in Europe, the bearer will furnish you out of the proceeds of this cargo, with respects to you and compliments to your family

I am respectfully
Your most obedient servant
WM. GRAY.[1]

Mr. Gray still had time for other pursuits than politics and commerce, as during the following winter he was appointed to preside over the Penobscot Bank[2] which had got into difficulties.

In 1811, Messrs. Gerry and Gray were again elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, Mr.

[1] General Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1810–11, no. 78, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] *Columbian Centinel*, December 26, 1810.

Gray's

Gray's vote this time being 43,396 as against 39,784 for Mr. William Phillips, with 219 scattering.[1]

The Non-Intercourse law had superseded the Embargo Act on March 1, 1809, and after May, 1810, this law was temporarily suspended as regarded both Great Britain and France. Trade was resumed with both countries, though the Orders in Council, with various modifications, were still in effect, and though Napoleon had not revoked his "Berlin" and "Milan" decrees. Commerce was therefore carried on, but under conditions which are well described in the following extract from a letter from Mr. John Quincy Adams to Mr. Gray: —

ST. PETERSBURG, 6 April, 1811.

HIS HONOR WILLIAM GRAY
Boston

DEAR SIR: —

. . . Commercial speculation of all kinds is at this time exposed to such great and extraordinary hazards that the advice I should be tempted to give a friend whose fortune is made, would be rather to lay his ships up in Port, and wait for a less tempestuous time than to risk the chances of the seas, when universal robbery has become the only Law of Nations. But I know that you have a more adventurous spirit, and that principles of benevolence to others far more than your own personal interest prompt you to keep so large a portion of your capital still afloat in the midst of the commercial shipwrecks which are spreading ruin upon the face of every sea, and bestrewing every shore. . . .

I renew my thanks to you for the obliging manner

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, June 1, 1811.

with

with which you sent me the letter of credit which I had requested of you, and for the subsequent orders to several of your captains and supercargoes to supply me from the proceeds of their cargoes any funds which I might want. This kindness was still enhanced by your forbearance to require from my brother the security upon my property which I had directed him to give. . . .

I am with great esteem and friendship
Dear Sir
Your very humble and obedt Servt
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.[1]

The British nation, however, still maintained the right to search neutral ships and to impress any seamen who were judged to be British subjects. In this way, many American citizens were unjustly impressed into service on British vessels, and this personal disgrace, added to the resentment against the British Orders in Council, finally brought about the War of 1812. That Mr. Gray was beginning to feel that war was inevitable is well shown by an extract from a letter written by him to his agents in London:—

BOSTON, Aug. 10th, 1811.

MESSRS. BAINBRIDGE & BROWN
London

. . . but we have just heard the unpleasant information of the condemnation of the Fox and others bound to

[1] Papers of John Quincy Adams. Letter-book no. 9, no. 154, Massachusetts Historical Society.

France,

France, whatever you may have done with respect to prosecuting the appeal I shall be satisfied with; though from present appearance I rather think it will be best not, I think this nation never will submit to the principles set up by your Government, dreadful as the conflict will be, it must come with all its horrors, which I pray God to avert, if the Orders in Council are not repealed, and the property restored condemned under them, there never will or can be an accommodation between the two nations. . . .

I am respectfully Gentlemen

Your most obt. servt.

WM. GRAY.[1]

Mr. Gerry was again nominated for Governor by the Republicans in 1812, but Mr. Gray declined the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor, owing to ill health.[2] The tables were turned at this election, the Federalist candidate, Hon. Caleb Strong, being chosen Governor.

The United States Government, in view of possible war, opened subscriptions for a loan in Boston in April, 1812, and Mr. Gray promptly subscribed $100,000.[3] War was finally declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, though the United States was not in the least prepared for it, having very few vessels in her navy and an army of only about ten thousand men.

As soon as war was declared, Mr. Gray sent the following letter to the shippers and fishermen, informing them of the news and advising them to proceed to port:—

[1] William Gray's letter-book.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, February 17, 1812.

[3] *Columbian Centinel*, May 2, 1812.

Boston,

Boston, June 24, 1812.

To the Shippers, or Commanders of any Fishermen upon the Banks or elsewhere

Whereas war has been declared by the Government of the United States against Great Britain, I hereby advise and request the commanders of any, or all American vessels to proceed immediately to some safe port in the United States, the Eastern ports will be the most safe and then come along shore.

Wm. Gray.

Boston, June 25th, 1812.

Capt. Russell

If you see any fishermen on the Banks I request you will deliver the letters directly to them and desire them to give the information. . . .

Wm. Gray.[1]

During the early part of the war, our frigate, the Constitution, after her escape from the British squadron, put into Boston Harbor, and for some reason our Government did not think it necessary to supply again the funds for equipping her for sea. It is said that Mr. Gray, on hearing this, came forward and generously supplied what was needed.[2] How jubilant he must have been when she met and defeated the Guerrière! As the war progressed, Mr.

[1] William Gray's letter-book.

[2] Letter from his grandson, William Gray, May 5, 1889; also, *The Aristocracy of Boston; who they are and what they were.* By one who knows them; 1848, p. 19. (Boston Public Library.)

Gray

Gray advanced largely to the Government loans, subscribing $300,000 to the first loan, and advancing $200,000 on later ones,[1] as he did not believe individuals should be wealthy and yet not help the Government in time of need. It is said, moreover, that he never took advantage of the exigencies of the times, to speculate in Government securities.[2]

Before the war he had employed more than forty sail of vessels, and was said to have lost more money by the war than any man in the Union.[3] His vessels were captured by the enemy. Loss succeeded to loss, but his constant reply was, when taunted by the opponents of the war, "Never more prosperous."[4] That was the heart of the patriot rising superior to all sordid considerations; so

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, February 14, 1814. The *Centinel*, May 2, 1812, says he subscribed $100,000 at the opening of the first loan; the rest was probably subscribed later on. The volume of *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States*, 1790–1814, p. 486, gives the amount subscribed to loans in 1812 by individuals in Boston and Salem as $724,100, but does not say who the individuals were. *Ibid.*, p. 537, says William Gray, of Boston, subscribed $197,000 to the loan of 1814.

[2] Frazar Kirkland, *Cyclopædia of Commercial and Business Anecdotes*, vol. I., p. 35.

[3] *Independent Chronicle*, March 7, 1814. Colonel Samuel Swett wrote of Mr. Gray June 11, 1864: "His fleet amounted at one time to forty four vessels, many of them the largest ships then constructed." Mr. Gray's grandson, William Gray, wrote May 5, 1889: "There have been exaggerated reports as to the number of vessels owned by him at one time. I do not think the number ever exceeded thirty-eight." Cf. figures given in chap. II.

[4] John B. Derby, *A Few Reminiscences of Salem, Massachusetts*, p. 9. (Boston Athenæum.) Published, 1847. In the *Independent Chronicle*, August 17, 1812, I find: "Letter of Marque ship Catherine belonging

long

long as the rights of his country were defended, he forgot his own interests. It was the case of the Embargo over again: the general feeling in Massachusetts was strongly against the war, and Mr. Gray stood out conspicuously, as one of the few great merchants in New England who were willing to support the General Government. The general feeling in Massachusetts seems to have been a determination to do nothing by way of active support of the war, but solely to defend ourselves against foreign aggression.

Mr. Gray's rather sanguine views on the outcome of the struggle are shown in the following extract from a letter to Mr. John Quincy Adams: —

BOSTON, Apl. 19th, 1813.

SIR: —

. . . I yet hope peace may be restored and that the mission now going out will with yourself, be the negociators of a general peace. This mission I hope will afford you and your family an opportunity to visit your native country, where I hope soon to see you rendering all the service in your power, which I am sure you will cheerfully do, and never were your services more wanted. I think you must be gratified to find your countrymen gaining such victories on the ocean. Indeed I think our

to William Gray Esq., of Boston was captured and sent into Halifax, by the British Brig of War Colibri, after a running fight of several hours. The Catherine was very much shattered, but lost none of her men. The Colibri had one man killed and seven or eight wounded."

The brig John, brig Spitfire, and brig Essex were also captured by the British.

National

National character is rising beyond all calculation, if the war lasts, we must and shall have the two Canadies and then we shall have a vast many furs to export. I presume Russia would be a good market for them, that country and this are peculiarly well calculated to promote each other's interest by commerce. . . .

I am with great respect Sir
Your most obt servant
WM. GRAY.[1]

After two years and a half peace was made at Ghent, December 24, 1814, but the news of it did not reach Washington until after the battle of New Orleans.

Despite politics and war Mr. Gray had time for other interests. When, in 1811, it was decided to erect a monument to George Washington in Boston, His Honor William Gray was appointed to serve as one of the trustees;[2] and again in 1813 he was chosen vice-president of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips being president of the institution.[3]

In October, 1812, Mr. Gray had been named as a presidential elector by the Republicans,[4] but the Federalist electors were chosen.[5] The Republican party in Massachusetts represented those willing to uphold the General Government in the War of 1812, and was extremely

[1] General Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1812–13, no. 119, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] *Columbian Centinel*, December 4, 1811.

[3] *Independent Chronicle*, February 4, 1813.

[4] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1812.

[5] *Columbian Centinel*, November 21, 1812.

unpopular

unpopular in the State, the Federalists being for peace; and the intense feeling created by the Embargo was fanned into a flame again by the war.

Honorable Samuel Dexter was named for Governor of Massachusetts in 1814, and Mr. Gray was again induced to run for Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket;[1] but they were defeated by the Federalist or Anti-War candidates.[2] Nevertheless, in 1815, Messrs. Dexter and Gray were again nominated by the Republicans, but were again defeated.[3]

When peace was declared, Mr. Gray was in his sixty-fifth year, but with no thought as yet of retiring from active business; he registered as many as eighteen vessels in Boston in the year following the war, and kept up his commercial pursuits until the year of his death.

It may interest the reader to compare the number of seamen Mr. Gray had employed before the war with the number employed by his contemporaries:—

	Number of seamen annually employed
Eben Parsons, Boston	150
William Parsons, Boston	50
Caleb Loring, Boston	40
John Holland, Boston	30
William Gray, Boston	300
Theodore Lyman, Boston	100
J. and T. H. Perkins, Boston	150
Israel Thorndike, Boston	200
William Sturgis, Boston	70

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, February 17, 1814.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1814.
[3] *Ibid.*, February 27, 1815; April 13, 1815.

Number

	Number of seamen annually employed
Joseph Peabody, Salem	150
William Orne, Salem	60
Nath. Hooper, Marblehead	50
B. T. Reed, Marblehead	65
Matthew Bridge, Charlestown	25
B. Hedge, Jun., Plymouth	60
Jos. Moody, Kennebunk	45
Otis Little, Castine	15[1]

These figures were given by the merchants examined before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1813, at an investigation to ascertain the number of seamen impressed from our vessels by British men-of-war. Before the same committee, Mr. Gray made a sworn statement that for the last fifteen or twenty years he had employed about three hundred seamen annually upon the average.[2]

Mr. Gray's fourth son, John Chipman Gray, having finished his course at Harvard in 1811, started for England in 1815, and on his departure his father wrote to him the following letter, full of good advice and of the principles that had guided his own course through life: —

BOSTON, October 14, 1815.

MY DEAR SON:—

As you are now about to embark on the great theatre of the world, I request you to act your part well and play the man, in whatever situation you may be placed, do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with God, in reading your bible, you will find great consolation and comfort,

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, April 3, 1813. [2] *Ibid.*

and

and if you give a fair construction to what you read you will find a guide in every situation and trial that you may be called to. As you launch out upon the wide ocean you will see the wonders of that great deep, which must fill your mind with reflections how great must be that Infinite Power which created that vast body with its inhabitants, not only that, but all things were created by Him, and by His infinite power and mercy are governed in perfect order. The perfection of His system which governs the world and all things in it must lead you to adore and admire His goodness and perfection.

Let system and method be observed in all your conduct, do not let your eyes be blinded with prejudice nor your understanding clouded with passion, but keep reason at the helm, let that be your guide through life. You possess a full share of the blessings of this life for which you ought to be very grateful to the Author of all the blessings you enjoy, having a good constitution with a sound body and mind and a good education with an ample fortune, quite a competency, with parents that have been devoted to their children and united in doing everything in their power to promote the real happiness and usefulness of you all, without partiality for anyone, or prejudice against any, but to watch over them all for their good, with such advantages your friends have much to expect from you.

There is one relation that I hope you will be blessed with, that is nearer than a brother, or parents; in your choice of a wife I trust you will be prudent and judicious, you will recollect that property is not so material to you, as it is likely by the blessing of Providence, if you are careful

of

of what you have it will be sufficient to maintain a family. Though women are not always the better for having property, neither are they the worse, I only mean to have you led in this state by the most valuable qualities; such as I suppose ought to be the first objects are those of a sound body and mind a good understanding and temper, comely, but extreme beauty is not to be wished, affectionate and kind, if you can find such a woman, that will accept you for a husband, the sooner you are married the better, for life is short at best, and if wasted in dissipation it is worse than lost, and, if not married till old age, men are very likely to conduct improperly when they do marry and if nothing worse they are hardly worth a woman's accepting, therefore I recommend your marrying young. In looking for a wife you must not expect perfection, you will recollect you have not a perfect husband to give her, in that state much mutual forbearance, condescension, kindness, affection, and good faith, are due to each other. If I shall live to see you possess the affections of a wife, I will be everything to her that an indulgent parent ought to be to the wife of a son so beloved as you are by me. It has been a great consolation to me to observe so much harmony prevail among our children, do all you can to continue it, love among brethren is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

In politics be an American a firm supporter and defender of the Government and Constitution, let no man be called Master, but search and examine for yourself.

Now my dear son go, God bless you here and hereafter; may He in his infinite mercy preserve you from all

all evil shall be my constant prayer. Write me by all opportunities, write frequently to your Mother, never forget her nor her kindness, and affection for you, you certainly owe her all your affection, respect and attention.

Yr affectionate

WM. GRAY.

In 1816, the Republican party again nominated Mr. Gray as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, but he declined the nomination on account of the great pressure of private and business concerns.[1] Nevertheless, in December of the same year, he was named for Governor of Massachusetts by the Republicans,[2] but he declined the nomination.[3] Politics still ran so high that there was very little social intercourse between men of opposite parties; in fact, Mr. George Ticknor once said that Mr. Gray's was the only table in Boston where men of both parties met, so high was the political temperature.[4]

This same year, the United States Bank decided to start a Boston Branch, and Mr. Gray was appointed one of the commissioners for receiving subscriptions,[5] and was later appointed a Director,[6] but declined the appointment.[7] He must, however, have reconsidered his refusal, as he was unanimously elected president of the Boston Branch of

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, February 12, 1816.

[2] *Ibid.*, December 12, 1816.

[3] *Ibid.*, December 16, 1816.

[4] Letter from Mr. Gray's grandson, William Gray, May 5, 1889.

[5] *Independent Chronicle*, May 27, 1816; also *Columbian Centinel*, May 11, 1816.

[6] *Columbian Centinel*, December 4, 1816.

[7] *Ibid.*, December 7, 1816.

the

the United States Bank in December, 1816,[1] to which office he was reëlected during the six following years,[2] after which he declined to serve.

In July, 1817, the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, paid a visit to Boston. Mr. Gray had been appointed one of the committee to receive him,[3] and was more or less prominent on the occasion. The President was given a dinner at Medford by Governor John Brooks, and the company included, to quote the "Centinel," Hon. John Adams, Hon. Messrs. Phillips, Gray, Bigelow, Brooks, and others. Another day, the President, with the Governor, and a *cortège*, took carriages and proceeded to Quincy, to dine with the venerable ex-President of the United States, in company with the Honorables Messrs. Quincy, Dearborn, Gray, etc., etc.[4] Thursday evening, the President was entertained by Mrs. Dearborn, Friday evening by Mrs. William Gray, and Saturday evening by Mrs. H. G. Otis. I quote the "Centinel" for an account of Mrs. Gray's reception: —

"On Friday evening Mrs. William Gray had the honor of receiving the President at her residence in Summer St. On this occasion that magnificent mansion was filled

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, December 18, 1816.

[2] *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, December 3, 1817; December 5, 1818; December 22, 1819. He was reëlected a director (*ibid.*, December 6, 1820), but I can find no notice of a president being elected in 1820 or 1821; however (*ibid.*, December 4, 1822), "William Gray was unanimously reëlected president at a meeting of Directors, &c." *Columbian Centinel*, November 9, 1825, says, "he continued as president until he refused reëlection."

[3] *Columbian Centinel*, June 7, 1817.

[4] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1817.

with

William Gray

with a large and fashionable company of ladies and gentlemen, and the spacious gardens in the rear were brilliantly illuminated. It produced a wonderful effect; and could not but attract attention to the princely fortune of the opulent owner, who could there, in the centre of a great city combine all the beauties of the country and town."[1]

That August Mr. Gray presided at a public dinner given to the Honorable John Quincy Adams in the Exchange Coffee-House by his fellow citizens of Boston.[2]

Mr. Gray still kept up a lively interest in politics, and in 1818, 1819, and 1820 he was nominated for State Senator from Suffolk County by the Republicans,[3]—or Democrats, as they were interchangeably called,—but in each instance he was defeated by the Federalist candidate.[4]

When in August, 1820, the merchants and others interested in the prosperity of the commerce and the agriculture of the State of Massachusetts and the United States held a large meeting in Boston, Mr. Gray was chosen chairman.[5] Again, in October, he was chosen chairman at a meeting held in Faneuil Hall, on the subject of the proposed tariff.[6]

The year 1820 was a presidential election year, and the Federalist party in Massachusetts put in nomination as electors-at-large for President and Vice-President, His

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, July 9, 1817. [2] *Ibid.*, August 27, 1817.

[3] *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot* (hereafter called the *Chronicle*), April 4, 1818; *ibid.*, March 13, 1819.

[4] *Chronicle*, April 8, 1818; *ibid.*, April 7, 1819; *Columbian Centinel*, April 8, 1820.

[5] *Columbian Centinel*, August 19, 1820.

[6] *Ibid.*, October 4, 1820.

Honor

Honor William Phillips and Hon. William Gray,[1] to support Mr. Monroe for a second term. In November, Mr. Gray was elected,[2] receiving a vote in Boston of 3455, — the largest vote cast in that city for any candidate.[3]

This same year, Massachusetts decided to amend her Constitution, and Mr. Gray was elected a delegate to the Convention, by a vote of 1682, this being the second highest vote received in Boston by any candidate.[4]

The election of Hon. Benjamin Gorham to Congress in 1820 occasioned a vacancy in the Senate of Massachusetts from Suffolk County and Mr. Gray was a candidate to fill this position.[5] From the "Chronicle" of January 13, 1821, we learn: "It will be seen by a reference to the legislative proceedings of yesterday, that the Honorable William Gray has been elected to fill the vacancy in the Senate of Massachusetts occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Benjamin Gorham." Mr. Gray's tenure of this office, however, was short-lived, as in the following March, when he was nominated as Senator from Suffolk by the Republicans,[6] the Federalist candidate won the election.[7]

In 1824, Mr. Gray was again elected presidential elector-at-large on the ticket which was to support the Honorable John Quincy Adams for President,[8] and when the

[1] *Chronicle*, August 26, 1820.
[2] *Ibid.*, November 29, 1820.
[3] *Ibid.*, November 8, 1820.
[4] *Columbian Centinel*, October 18, 1820; *Chronicle*, October 18, 1820.
[5] *Columbian Centinel*, November 8, 1820.
[6] *Chronicle*, March 28, 1821.
[7] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1821.
[8] *Columbian Centinel*, October 28, 1824; November 3, 1824.

electoral

electoral college of Massachusetts met in December, he was chosen its president.[1]

The last mention I find of Mr. Gray in a public position was when he presided at a public dinner given in Faneuil Hall on March 4, 1825, in honor of the election of his friend Mr. John Quincy Adams to the presidency of the United States.[2] He was now seventy-four years old, and though he retained enough vigor and interest in commercial pursuits to register one vessel, the Hope, after his seventy-fifth birthday, he did not long survive the occasion, and died in Boston on November 3, 1825, having outlived his wife by two years.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Gray were buried in a vault under St. Paul's Church, Boston, their remains being finally removed to Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Mr. Gray's assessment and taxes in Boston on December 13, 1824, were as follows:—

Assessment.	
Real, Ward 8	$18,000
Real, Ward 1	16,000
Personal	250,000
Taxes — State, city, and county.	
Poll	1.50
Real	289.
Personal	2125.
	$2415.50[3]

He left an estate of about $900,000, exclusive of claims

[1] *Columbian Centinel*, December 1, 1824. [2] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1825.

[3] Boston Assessors' Records. These figures are written $18,000, and $16,800, but added incorrectly to make $34,000. Evidently a mistake one way or the other.

against

against European governments amounting to $645,821.29, for spoliation of property owned and insured by him between 1796 and 1811, including $422,500 claims against France.[1] The total of these latter has not, at the present writing, 1913, been repaid by the United States Government.

From everything that happened in the lives of both William Gray and his wife, one is struck by the simplicity of their tastes. They were inclined to unostentatious living, and delighted not in large gatherings, but only in the society of their friends. They were both very religious, and in constant attendance at the Congregational Church in both Salem and Boston. To quote the "Columbian Centinel," "Mr. Gray was unostentatious, plain and affable in his manners. In his pursuits he was judiciously enterprising, indefatigably industrious. In all seasons he rose at three or four o'clock and in the quiet of the morning read his letters, examined his accounts, formed his plans and made his arrangements. In his long commercial course, many of his vessels were wrecked—but he heard of such losses without the least visible emotion if human life were spared. He had sustained several elevated offices in the state, and those who differed from him in politics had the fullest confidence in his patriotism."[2]

All through his life Mr. Gray worshipped truth, and made it a point that his word should be as good as his bond. In commercial transactions, he was scrupulously honest, and he is quoted as saying that "no bargain is a good bargain that is not equally good for both sides." Mr. Bentley

[1] Executor's papers. [2] *Columbian Centinel*, November 9, 1825.

Bentley said of him that he had helped many young men in their business in Salem[1]; and at his death there was over $150,000 due him on small loans he had made to individuals.[2] Mrs. Gray also gave frequently to charity, as is shown by her various letters. As his sons grew up and started in business, Mr. Gray gave each of them $100,000, and both he and Mrs. Gray lived on terms of great affection with all their children. His son, Horace, was in partnership with him at the time of his death.

He was always a strong supporter of the Government measures, even when these measures were against his business interests, and when such support made him the centre of bitter attacks and lost him many friends. This was particularly the case, as we have seen, when he supported the Embargo Act in 1808, and again when he supported the Government measures during the War of 1812. Until the Embargo, Mr. Gray belonged to the Federalist party, but the stand the Federalists took during the operation of that measure so disgusted him that he joined the Republicans. He had strong convictions and the courage to live up to them, and his love of truth and square dealing made him universally respected. His enterprise and good fortune did much to promote the prosperity of Salem. In fact, his name was held in such high repute, that Salem even envies Lynn the honor of being his birthplace.

"Salem and Lynn for Gray's birth now contest;
Lynn gains the palm, but Salem fares the best."[3]

[1] Bentley, vol. III, p. 416, February 15, 1809.

[2] Executor's papers.

[3] Lewis, *History of Lynn* (second edition), p. 243.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Letters of Marque[1] *of which William Gray, Tertius, was owner or part owner*[2]

DEFENCE. November 18, 1781. Massachusetts brigantine. 100 tons. Guns: 10. Crew: 16. Bond: $20,000. Master: Robert Rentoul. Bonders: Robert Rentoul (Salem), William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Thomas Nicolson, Salem. Owner: William Gray, Salem. Witnesses: Abraham Gray, Jr.,[3] Samuel Gray,[4] Isaac Pierce.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 3, p. 74. Mass., vol. 172, p. 63.[5])

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[1] A "Letter of Marque" vessel carried a cargo to a destined port or ports, taking prizes if they came in her way, and defending herself against the enemy as a regularly commissioned private ship of war under heavy bonds to her Government to obey the rules of warfare.

[2] *The Naval Records of the Revolution, 1775–1788*, edited by the Library of Congress, gives the bonder of these vessels as William Gray, Jr., the editor having mistaken the "Ter." (Tertius) for a "Jr.," as William Gray, Jr., is mentioned as owner in some of the bonds. I have seen tracings of the signature in the original bonds in Washington, and also the original petitions to the Governor of Massachusetts for the commanders' commissions in the Massachusetts Archives, and they are all signed by "Wm. Gray Ter." in our William Gray's handwriting. Our William Gray was William Gray, Tertius, until 1785, when he became William Gray, Jr., and no one who has compared his "Ter." with his "Jr." could mistake the one for the other. The bonds are made out in some instances to William Gray as owner, and in others to William Gray, Jr., but as they are all signed by William Gray, Tertius, I think it safe to say he was the owner and the mistake in his designation is a clerical error. The petition to the Governor of Massachusetts for the captain's commission of the brigantine Hector (Massachusetts Archives, vol. 172, p. 220) is made out in the name of William Gray, 3d; the other petitions are made out in the name of William Gray; but all, with the exception of those of the Hind and the Venus (signed by Thomas Nicolson), are signed by "Wm. Gray, Ter." (Tertius). The tonnage of the vessels is given in the Massachusetts Archives.

[3] Brother of William Gray, Tertius.

[4] Brother of William Gray, Tertius.

[5] C. C. = Papers of the Continental Congress. Mass. = Massachusetts Archives.

HIND. July 3, 1782. Massachusetts brigantine. 120 tons. Guns: 8. Crew: 16. Bond: $20,000. Master: Benjamin Durham. Bonders: Benjamin Durham, Salem, William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Benjamin West (Salem). Owners: William Gray (Jr.), and others, Salem. Witnesses: Ebenezer Swan, Thomas Nicolson.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 7, p. 53. Mass., vol. 172, p. 178.)

VENUS. July 3, 1782. Massachusetts ship. 140 tons. Guns: 10. Crew: 20. Bond: $20,000. Master: Thomas Nicolson. Bonders: Thomas Nicolson, Salem, William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Benjamin West. Owners: William Gray and others, Salem. Witnesses: Benjamin Durham, Ebenezer Swan.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 15, p. 98. Mass., vol. 172, p. 178.)

DEFENCE.[1] October 26, 1782. Massachusetts brigantine. 100 tons. Guns: 10. Crew: 16. Bond: $20,000. Master: John Barr. Bonders: John Barr, Salem, William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Francis Boardman, Salem. Owners: William Gray and others, Salem. Witnesses: John Chipman, Samuel Gray.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 3, p. 71.)

HECTOR. November 5, 1782. Massachusetts brigantine. 100 tons. Guns: 6. Crew: 15. Bond: $20,000. Master: John Cartwright. Bonders: John Cartwright (Salem), William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Abram Gray, Jr., Salem. Owners: William Gray and others, Salem. Witnesses: Robert Rentoul, Samuel Gray.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 7, p. 40. Mass., vol. 172, p. 220.)

HYNDE. November 19, 1782. Massachusetts brigantine. 90 tons. Guns: 8. Crew: 16. Bond: $20,000. Master:

[1] When a letter of marque changed owners or master, a new bond was required.

Francis

Francis Boardman. Bonders: Francis Boardman, Salem, Samuel Gray, Salem, William Gray, Tertius, Salem. Owners: William Gray (Jr.), and others, Salem. Witnesses: Thomas Stimpson, Samuel Nicholls.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 8, p. 31. Mass., vol. 172, p. 229.)

IRIS. December 23, 1782. Massachusetts ship. 100 tons. Guns: 9. Crew: 18. Bond: $20,000. Master: Robert Rentoul. Bonders: Robert Rentoul, Salem, William Gray, Tertius, Salem, Benjamin West, Salem. Owners: William Gray and others, Salem. Witnesses: Samuel Gray, Benjamin Folger.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 15, p. 39. Mass., vol. 172, p. 263.)

UNION. December 31, 1782. Massachusetts brig. 100 tons. Guns: 6. Crew: 17. Bond: $20,000. Master: Isaac Smith. Bonders: Isaac Smith (Boston?), Thomas Snow, William Gray, Tertius (Salem). Owners: William Gray (Jr.), and others, Salem. Witnesses: Joseph Hussey, Daniel Boyer.

(C. C., no. 196, vol. 15, p. 81. Mass., vol. 172, p. 270.)

APPENDIX B

List of Ships Owned by William Gray

The following list of William Gray's ships is compiled from the *Ship Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly, 1789–1900*, published in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, and from the records in the Boston Custom House.

The first register record that appears in the Salem Custom House is dated October 6, 1789, and the following is the name of one of Mr. Gray's vessels prior to that date:—

VOLANT. Brig, 1785. William Gray, Jr., owner; Joseph Mosely, master.[1]

1789[2]

ESSEX. Schooner, 98 tons. Scarborough, 1782. Reg. October 17, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Samuel Derby, master.

FANNY. Brigantine, 156 tons. Pittston, 1784. Reg. November 14, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; John Wallace, master.

CERES. Brigantine, 173 tons. Saco, 1788. Reg. November 14, 1789. William Gray, Jr., Weld Gardner, Samuel Gray, Francis C. Gray, owners; Thomas Simonds, master. Reg. October 29, 1791. William Gray, Jr., Weld Gardner, owners; Benjamin Ives, master. (Lost at sea 1791 or 1792.)

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[1] Essex Institute Historical Collections. Our William Gray became William Gray, Jr., in the latter part of 1785.

[2] In some years, the owner of these vessels is registered as William Gray, Jr., and in others, as William Gray. Our William Gray was known as William Gray, Jr., until 1806, but as he was the only William Gray in Salem at this period who was a shipowner, I think it safe to say he is meant in every case. The Ulysses and the Enterprise are both registered as belonging to William Gray, but the letters of instructions to their captains are written by William Gray, Jr. (see *supra*), showing that the William Gray is a clerical error.

SWALLOW.

SWALLOW. Schooner, 70 tons. Bradford, 1786. Reg. December 3, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; William Kilham, master. Reg. January 1, 1791. Other owners.

NEPTUNE. Schooner, 70 tons. Bradford, 1786. Reg. December 3, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas Butman, master. Reg. January 18, 1791. Other owners.

ACTIVE. Schooner, 67 tons. Haverhill, 1786. Reg. December 8, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Seaward Lee, master.

BEE. Schooner, 68 tons. Salem, 1786. Reg. December 10, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Hezekiah Wallace, master. Reg. July 5, 1790. Stephen Osborne, owner; James Snow, master. Reg. July 27, 1794. Zachariah Burchmore, Joshua Ward, John Foster, owners; John Foster, master.

ROBIN. Schooner, 68 tons. Bradford, 1786. Reg. December 11, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Samuel Olimore, master. (Sold to Marblehead owners, July, 1790.)

HAWK. Schooner, 69 tons. Lynn, 1786. Reg. December 11, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas Ashby, master. (Sold to Beverly owners, January, 1791.)

FREEDOM. Schooner, 91 tons. Kennebunk, 1784. Reg. December 17, 1789. William Gray, Jr., owner; John T. Ropes, master. Reg. March 28, 1791. Samuel Blanchard, owner; Samuel Blanchard, master.

CERES. Ship, 154 tons. Amesbury, 1784. Reg. December 19, 1789. William Gray, Jr., George Dodge, Clifford Crowninshield, owners; Clifford Crowninshield, master.

1790

SWALLOW. Schooner, Beverly, 73 tons. Lynn, 1776. Reg. January 20, 1790. William Gray, Jr., John Lovett, Beverly, owners; Benjamin Beckford, Jr., master. Reg.

Reg. August 14, 1793. William Gray, owner; John Baker, master. (Sold to Machias owners, July, 1794.)

MOLLY. Schooner, 62 tons. Newburyport, 1778. Reg. January 29, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Joseph Baker, master. Reg. December 2, 1790. Other owners.

IRIS. Brigantine, 126 tons. Salisbury, 1790. Reg. March 2, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Benjamin Ives, master. (Sold to Beverly owners, November, 1790.)

JOHN. Schooner, 73 tons. Haverhill, 1786. Reg. March 24, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Jeremiah Foster, master. Reg. March 7, 1791. Nathan Leach, owner; John Prince, master. Reg. June 25, 1794. Robert Seldon, owner; Robert Seldon, master.

LEOPARD. Brigantine, 156 tons. Dover, N. H.,[1] 1784. Reg. May 31, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Herbert Woodberry, master. Reg. December 5, 1797. William Gray, owner; Thomas Pickman, master. Reg. September 9, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Samuel Barker, master. (Condemned as unfit for service.)

WILLIAM AND HENRY. Brigantine, 166 tons. Kingston, 1784. Reg. July 15, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas West, master.

NANCY. Schooner, 89 tons. Newbury, 1783. Reg. December 8, 1790. William Gray, Jr., owner; Zackeriah Stone, master.

1791

HIND. Brigantine, 165 tons. Falmouth, 1783. Rig altered to a snow April, 1793. Reg. January 6, 1791. William Gray, Jr., owner; John Beckford, master. Reg. April 17, 1793. William Gray, owner; Thomas Putnam, master.

BETSEY.

BETSEY. Schooner, 70 tons. Salisbury, 1784. Reg. March 24, 1791. William Gray, Jr., owner; Joseph Leach, master. Reg. September 27, 1791. James Odell, owner; James Odell, master, and various other registers.

HOPE. Schooner, 68 tons. Hanover, 1789. Reg. October 21, 1791. John Lovett, 3d, Beverly, William Gray, Jr., owners; John Lovett, 3d, master. (Sold to Beverly owners, June, 1791.)

AURORA. Ship, 222 tons. Haverhill, 1791. Reg. December 17, 1791. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas Meek, master.

1792

SALEM. Schooner, 88 tons. Tonnage changed to 111 tons March, 1794, and rig altered to a brigantine. Salisbury, 1792. Reg. May 26, 1792. William Gray, owner; Joseph Hosmer, master. (Isaac Rea and Josiah Orne were also masters.)

WILLIAM. Brigantine, 182 tons. Salem, 1784. July 21, 1792. William Gray, owner; Seaward Lee, master. (After a few years altered to a ship and broken up in Salem sometime after 1807. Benjamin Bickford and William Mugford were also masters.)

ENTERPRISE. Brig, 164 tons. Haverhill, 1792. Altered to a barque, October 20, 1794, and to a ship November 28, 1796. Reg. August 9, 1792. William Gray, owner; William Ward, master. Reg. October 20, 1794. Elias H. Derby, owner; Thomas Chipman, master.

UNION. Brigantine, Beverly, 140 tons. Salisbury, 1792. Reg. September 15, 1792. Nathaniel Lee, Beverly, William Gray, owners; William Lee, master.

COMMERCE. Ship, 247 tons. Durham, N.H., 1790. Reg. November 17, 1792. William Gray, owner; Clifford Crowninshield, master.

1793

1793

LUCIA. Brigantine, 183 tons. Haverhill, 1792. Reg. January 25, 1793. William Gray, owner; George Archer, master.

ELIZA. Brigantine, 144 tons. Kingston, 1785. Reg. May 6, 1793. William Gray, owner; Samuel Williams, master. Reg. May 24, 1794. Winthrop Gray, Boston, Joseph Cabot, owners; Joseph Hosmer, master. Reg. November 14, 1795. William Gray, owner; William Mugford, master.

ESSEX. Schooner, 129 tons. Scarborough, 1782. Reg. May 24, 1793. William Gray, owner; Seaward Lee, master.

1794

PHENIX. Snow, 150 tons. Altered to a brigantine in October, 1800. Amesbury, 1793. Reg. March 15, 1794. William Gray, owner; Andrew Ober, master. Reg. April 23, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Ward Chipman, master. (Ebenezer Ward was also master. Lost at sea.)

FRANCIS. Brigantine, 174 tons. Newbury, 1791. Reg. June 18, 1794. William Gray, owner; John Wallace, master. (Daniel Hathorne was also master.)

ENTERPRISE. Brigantine, 176 tons. Kennebunk, 1788. Reg. June 20, 1794. Daniel Hathorne, William Gray, owners; Daniel Hathorne, master. (Sold to Boston owners, January, 1795.)

LYDIA. Brigantine, 152 tons. Salisbury, 1790. Reg. June 26, 1794. William Gray, owner; Ebenezer Shillaber, master. Reg. May 12, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; John Borden, master.

JOHN. Schooner, 111 tons. Falmouth, 1794. Reg. December 4, 1794. William Gray, owner; William Blackler, Jr., master. Reg. January 6, 1798. William Gray, William Blackler, owners; William Russell, master.

1795

1795

DISPATCH. Sloop, 70 tons. Kennebunk, 1794. Reg. January 28, 1795. William Gray, owner; Joseph Hosmer, master.

JOHN. Ship, 175 tons. Salisbury, 1794. Reg. March 31, 1795. William Gray, owner; Benjamin Dawson, master.

VOLANT. Brig, 138 tons. Kennebunk, 1795. Reg. May 4, 1795. William Gray, owner; David Martin, master.

BETSEY. Ship, 218 tons. Wells, 1795. Reg. June 18, 1795. William Gray, owner; Philip Bessom, Jr., master. Reg. November 26, 1796. Samuel Gray, William Gray, Josiah Orne, Sylvanus Gray, Boston, owners; Josiah Orne, master. Reg. September 24, 1800. William Gray, owner; John C. Blackler, master.

LUCIA. Ship, 310 tons. Salisbury, 1795. Reg. October 26, 1795. William Gray, owner; Thomas Meek, master. Reg. June 26, 1805. William Gray, Jr., owner; Solomon Towne, master.

INDUSTRY. Schooner, 59 tons. Amesbury, 1787. Reg. December 9, 1795. William Gray, owner; William Russell, master. (Joseph J. Knapp was also master.)

1796

WILLIAM AND HENRY. Ship, 256 tons. Newbury, 1796. Reg. May 6, 1796. William Gray, owner; John Beckford, master. (Foundered on the Grand Banks in 1800.)

ACTIVE. Schooner, 82 tons. Haverhill, 1786. Reg. May 16, 1796. William Gray, owner; Jonathan H. Lovett, master.

ELIZABETH. Ship, 333 tons. Danvers, 1796. Reg. September 21, 1796. William Gray, owner; Daniel Sage, master.

1797

NANCY. Brigantine, 157 tons. Newburyport, 1787. Reg. April 21, 1797. William Gray, owner; Jonathan Neall, master. Reg. October 2, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Freeborn Woodbury, master. (Condemned as unfit for sea.)

AMERICAN HERO. Ship, 251 tons. Kennebunk, 1796. Reg. May 1, 1797. William Gray, Tobias Low, owners; Philip Benson, Jr., master. Reg. December 29, 1798. William Gray, owner; Joseph Lindsey, master. Reg. July 11, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Andrew Masters, master. (In French War carried 11 guns. Commissioned as a privateer in the War of 1812.)

CONCORD. Ship, 171 tons. Salisbury, 1795. Reg. June 28, 1797. William Gray, owner; no captain mentioned. Reg. October 18, 1799. Pickering Dodge and others, owners.

PATTY. Schooner, 70 tons. Newbury, 1789. Reg. December 9, 1797. William Gray, owner; John Green, master. (Sold to Beverly owners in September, 1800.)

FANNY. Ship, 150 tons. Freeport, 1796. Reg. December 19, 1797. William Gray, owner; Timothy Wellman, master. (In French War carried 10 guns. Commissioned as a privateer in the War of 1812. Water-color copy at Peabody Academy of Science.)

1798

MINERVA. Brigantine, 114 tons. Newburyport, 1795. Reg. January 24, 1798. William Gray, owner; William Mugford, master.

FAME. Schooner, 62 tons. Ipswich, 1795. Reg. May 11, 1798. William Gray, owner; Asa Batchelder, master.

Ship Fanny, Captain Kinsman

ter. Reg. November 5, 1801. David Tucker, owner, etc.

ULYSSES. Ship, 340 tons. Haverhill, 1798. Reg. June 26, 1798. William Gray, owner; Josiah Orne, master. John R. Dalling was also registered as master, September 10, 1804. In 1804, this ship, while under command of William Mugford, had her rudder carried away in a gale. An ingeniously contrived temporary rudder was rigged, by which the ship was brought safely to Marseilles. Captain Mugford received a gold medal from the American Philosophical Society (see Society's Publications, vol. VI, p. 203); and his device was widely commented on at the time (see Felt, *Annals*, II, 189) and described in Bowditch, *Practical Navigator*, 3d ed., p. 266. There are at the Peabody Academy of Science three water-color paintings by Anton Roux, showing the vessel in the gale and with the temporary rudder; also a hull model by Captain Mugford showing how the rudder was rigged; and also a small model of the rudder.

RISING STATES. Ship, 291 tons. Tonnage altered to 299 tons in 1804. Falmouth, 1794. Reg. October 12, 1798. William Gray, owner; Thomas Putnam, master. Reg. June 14, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Benjamin Beckford, Jr., master. (Full-rigged model at the Peabody Academy of Science.)

HERO. Galliot, 74 tons. Duxbury, 1794. Reg. October 31, 1798. William Gray, Abial Burgess, owners; Abial Burgess, master.

1799

TRYALL. Brigantine, 119 tons. Salem, 1790. Reg. March 8, 1799. William Gray, owner; William Russell, master. (Sold to Kennebunk owners, July, 1801.)

IRIS. Ship, 227 tons. Kennebunk, 1797. Reg. June 19, 1799. William Gray, owner; Enoch Swett, master.

Reg.

Reg. November 20, 1805. Henry Gray, owner; John Conway, master. (Two water-color paintings are at the Peabody Academy of Science.)

1800

FOX. Sloop, 52 tons. Westport, 1797. Reg. March 24, 1800. William Gray, owner; Caleb Cook, master.

JOHN. Barque, 96 tons. Duxbury, 1792. Rig altered to a schooner, August, 1802. Reg. April 18, 1800. William Gray, Timothy Wellman, owners; Samuel Stephens, master. Reg. December 11, 1800. William Gray, owner; Nathaniel Knight, master. Reg. May 13, 1801. William Ward, owner; Nathaniel Knight, master.

LAUREL. Ship, 425 tons. Danvers, 1800. Reg. June 30, 1800. William Gray, owner; Daniel Sage, master. Reg. July 24, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Ward Blackler, master.

PALLAS. Ship, 331 tons. Durham, N. H., 1798. Reg. August 13, 1800. William Gray, owner; John R. Dalling, master.

ROBOREUS. Schooner, 128 tons. Rig altered to a brig November, 1804, and in October, 1805, again altered to a barque. Scarborough, 1800. Reg. November 22, 1800. William Gray, owner; Abial Burgess, master. Reg. May 1, 1802. Other owners.

1801

WELLS. Ship, 205 tons. Wells, 1801. Reg. June 6, 1801. William Gray, owner; Joseph Lindsey, master. Reg. March 3, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Ezra Smith, master. Zachary G. Lamson was also master. (Captain Lamson's Autobiography has been published by Dr. O. T. Howe.)

MINERVA.

Ship Ulysses, William Mugford, Master

MINERVA. Brigantine, 100 tons. York, 1801. Reg. October 27, 1801. William Gray, owner; Archilæus Rea, master. Reg. January 3, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Nehemiah Roundy, master.

ELIZABETH. Schooner, 80 tons. Salisbury, 1801. Reg. December 6, 1801. William Gray, owner; Mark Woodbury, master. Reg. July 24, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Mark Woodbury, master. (Sold in March, 1809, to Beverly owners.)

1802

FREEDOM. Brigantine, 155 tons. Frankfort, 1802. Reg. March 11, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; Ebenezer Giles, master. (Sold at a foreign port in 1804.)

MINERVA. Ship, 231 tons. Portland, 1800. Reg. April 26, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas Beckford, master.

TRENT. Ship, 191 tons. Freeport, 1801. Reg. May 5, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; Nathaniel Kinsman, master. Reg. May 13, 1807. William Ward, owner; Peter Lander, master. (Original water-color at the Essex Institute, and water-color copy at the Peabody Academy of Science. The Trent was sold to Boston owners in October, 1809.)

HORACE. Ship 382 tons. Durham, N.H., 1800. Reg. July 17, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; John Parker, master. (Water-color copy of sketch at the Peabody Academy of Science.)

JOHN. Schooner, 124 tons. Georgetown, 1797. Reg. November 24, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; Joseph Lindsey, master. Reg. February 27, 1804. William R. Gray, Gideon Snow, Boston, owners; Robert Harris, master. (Lost at sea.)

ROVER. Brigantine, 204 tons. Kennebunk, 1802. Reg. December 23, 1802. William Gray, Jr., owner; Walter P. Jeffry, master.

1803

1803

VENGEANCE. Brigantine, 181 tons. Kennebunk, 1800. Reg. April 2, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Archilæus Rea, master.

UNICORN. Brigantine, 172 tons. Changed to a brig May 26, 1804. Freeport, 1799. Reg. May 16, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Benjamin Babbidge, master. Reg. September 22, 1803. Other owners.

MENTOR. Brigantine, 183 tons. Falmouth, 1801. Reg. June 15, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Elisha Whitney, master. (Lost at sea.)

COMMERCE. Brig, 167 tons. Kennebunk, 1795. Reg. July 12, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Edward Stanley, master.

ENTERPRISE. Brig, 182 tons. Kittery, 1800. Reg. September 26, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Elisha Woodbury, master.

HARPER. Barque, 141 tons. Arundel, 1801. Reg. October 20, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; Jonathan Corning, master. (Sold to Boston owners, November, 1809.)

POWDER POINT. Schooner, 82 tons. Duxbury, 1798. Reg. December 30, 1803. William Gray, Jr., owner; James Dowling, master. Reg. January 26, 1805. Other owners.

1804

FOX. Brigantine, 116 tons. Salisbury, 1795. Reg. May 11, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Freeborn Thorndike, master.

ATTEMPT. Schooner, 105 tons. Union River, 1802. Reg. July 21, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Tobias Davis, master. (Condemned at Barbadoes, March, 1807.)

WILLIAM. Brig, 178 tons. Pepperellboro, 1804. Reg. August 9, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Issachar Ober, master.

THOMAS.

THOMAS. Schooner, 103 tons. Kennebunk, 1801. Reg. September 21, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Thomas Calley, master. Reg. July 15, 1806. Other owners.

PACKET. Ship, 229 tons. Portland, 1803. Reg. November 26, 1804. William Gray, Jr., owner; Benjamin Beckford, master.

1806

PACTOLUS. Ship, 288 tons. Salem, 1806. Reg. December 25, 1806. William Gray, owner; John Beckford, master.

1807

LEOPARD. Barque, 207 tons. Danvers, 1807. Reg. October 13, 1807. William Gray, owner; Samuel Barker, master.

[Embargo, December 22, 1807, to March 1, 1809.]

1809

ST. PETER. Schooner, 67 tons. Amesbury, 1789. Reg. December 6, 1809. Thomas Woodbury, Jr., Beverly, William Gray, Boston, owners; James Haskell, master.

[N.B. William Gray moved to Boston in 1809.]

1815

GRAND TURK. Brigantine, 309 tons. Wiscasset, 1812. Celebrated privateer in War of 1812, carrying 18 guns and about 150 men. Was not registered permanently in Salem. A copy of her journal, however, was sworn to before the collector at Salem, and June 3, 1815, she took out a temporary document at Salem in which William Gray and Thomas Webb of Boston appear as owners. After the war she appears to have made merchant voyages for William Gray, of Boston.

The

The following are taken from the ship registers in the Boston Custom House, 1802–25, for the ports of Boston and Charlestown.[1]

1804

HOWARD. Ship, 290 tons. Kittery, 1801. Reg. June 22, 1804. William Gray, Jr., Salem, owner; Benjamin Bray, master. No. 280.

BETSEY. Ship, 218 tons. Wells, 1795. Reg. June 22, 1804. William Gray, Jr., Salem, owner; Thomas Calley, master. No. 281.

ATTEMPT. Schooner, 105 tons. Union River, 1802. Reg. June 30, 1804. William Gray, Jr., Salem, owner; Tobias Davis, master. No. 296.

1805

HORACE. Ship, 382 tons. Durham, N. H., 1800. Reg. January 1, 1805. William R. Gray, Boston, as agent to William Gray, Jr., of Salem; John Parker, master. No. 1. Reg. March 29, 1811. William Gray, owner; Thomas Leach, master. No. 84.

PALLAS. Ship, 331 tons. Durham, N. H., 1798. Reg. June 5, 1805. William R. Gray, Boston, as agent to William Gray, Jr., of Salem; John Edwards, master. No. 166. (Lost in the Baltic.)

1806

CATHERINE. Ship, 281 tons. Haverhill, 1799. Reg. July 14, 1806. William R. Gray, Boston, as agent to William Gray, Jr., of Salem; Thomas Beckford, master. No. 165. Reg. May 23, 1809. William Gray, owner; Thomas Beckford, master. No. 140. Reg. April 18, 1812. William Gray, owner; Philip Bessom, master. No. 110.

[Embargo December 22, 1807, to March 1, 1809.]

[1] A few of these vessels are the same as those registered in Salem. The numbers indicate the registry number in the Boston Custom House for the year of registry.

1809

PHENIX. Brig, 208 tons. Saco, 1807. Reg. September 12, 1809. William Gray, owner; Simeon Haskell, master. No. 302.

1810

PALAFOX. Brig, 181 tons. Bath, 1807. Reg. January 6, 1810. William Gray, owner; William Welch, master. No. 7.

WILLIAM. Brig, 162 tons. Kennebunk, 1806. Reg. January 10, 1810. William Gray, owner; Thomas Woodbury, Jr., master. No. 12.

INDUSTRY. Schooner, 62 tons. Danvers, 1787. Reg. May 23, 1810. William Gray, owner; John H. Harris, master. No. 181.

LUCIA. Ship, 310 tons. Salisbury, 1795. Reg. June 13, 1810. William Gray, owner; Samuel Haskell, master. No. 221. Reg. May 24, 1811. William Gray, owner; Samuel Haskell, master. No. 148.

AURORA. Ship, 222 tons. Haverhill, 1791. Reg. November 7, 1810. William Gray, owner; Andrew Masters, master. No. 408. (After 1814 sold to the United States, and used as a prison ship at Salem.)

HANNAH. Ship, 144 tons. Scituate, 1800. Reg. December 15, 1810. William Gray, owner; Joseph Mudge, master. No. 472. (Condemned at Gibraltar under Orders in Council.)

1811

FREDERICK. Brig, 153 tons. Hanover, 1801. Reg. April 8, 1811. William Gray, owner; John Cavendish, master. No. 104. Reg. July 28, 1815. William Gray, owner; John H. Harris, master. No. 330.

ST. PETER.

ST. PETER. Schooner, 67 tons. Amesbury, 1789. Reg. May 28, 1811. William Gray, owner; James Haskell, master. No. 152.

NANCY. Schooner, 117 tons. Pasquotank River, N. C., 1807. Reg. September 9, 1811. William Gray, owner; John H. Harris, master. No. 235.

WILLIAM. Brig, 178 tons. Pepperellboro, 1804. Reg. December 4, 1811. William Gray, owner; Larkin Turner, master. No. 327.

RECOVERY. Ship, 284 tons. Salem, 1794. Reg. December 5, 1811. William Gray, owner; Joseph H. Gage, master. No. 329. Reg. March 15, 1816. William Gray, owner; Francis Blackler, master. No. 74.

JOHN. Brig, 212 tons. Falmouth, 1811. Reg. December 16, 1811. William Gray, owner; Simeon O. Beckford, master. No. 350. (Captured by the British in 1812.)

1812

RACHEL. Schooner, 71 tons. Newbury, 1769. Reg. January 14, 1812. William Gray, owner; Thomas Woodbury, Jr., master. No. 17.

PALAFOX. Brig, 226 tons. Bath, 1807. Reg. January 18, 1812. William Gray, owner; Benjamin Hitchings, master. No. 21.

FEDERAL JACK. Schooner, 85 tons. Cape Porpoise. Reg. February 10, 1812. William Gray, owner; David Adams, master. No. 39.

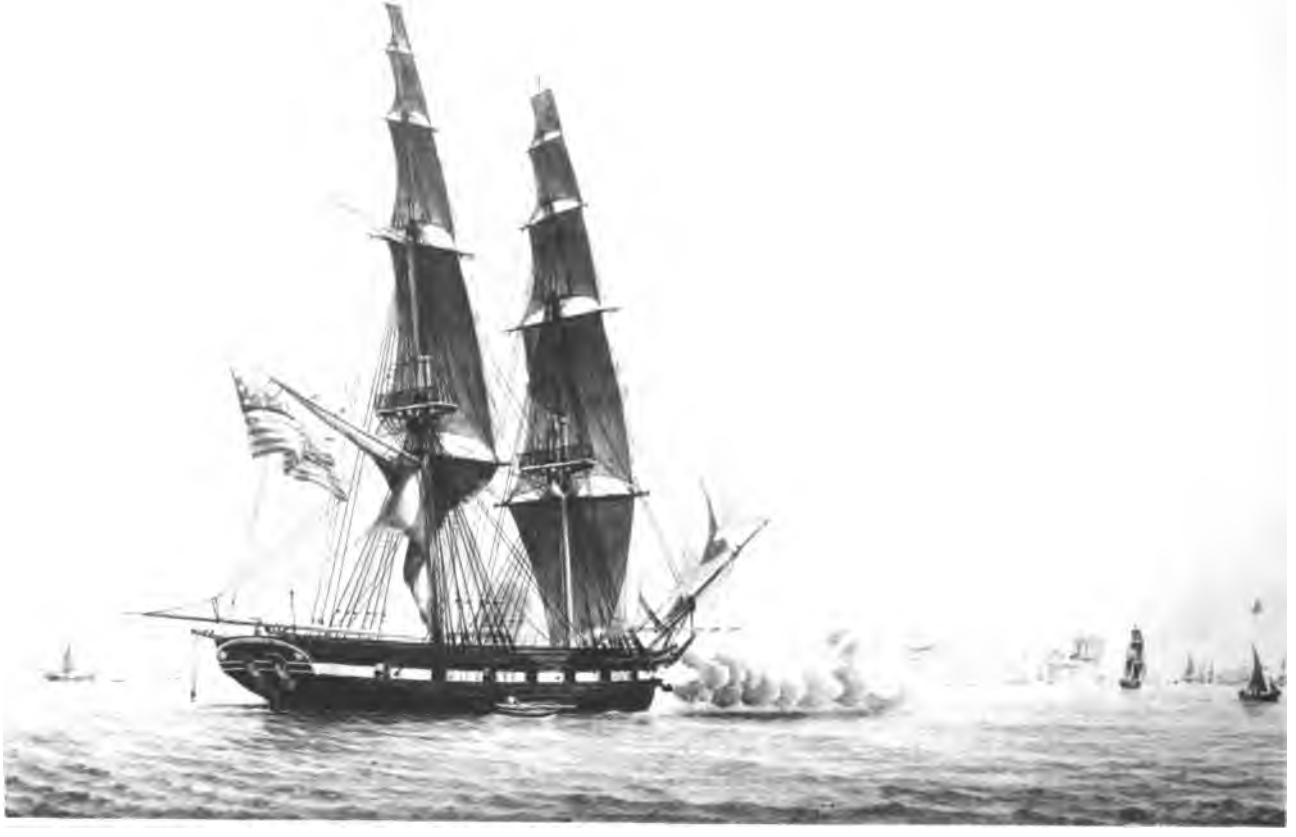
PORCUPINE. Brig, 330 tons. Charlestown, 1812. Reg. December 19, 1812. William Gray, owner; Thomas Beckford, master. No. 253.

1813

SPITFIRE. Brig, 269 tons. Portland, 1811. Reg. January 21, 1813. William Gray, owner; Francis A. Burnham, master. No. 13. (Captured by the British, 1814.)

POLLY.

Letter of Marque, Brig Grand Turk, of 14 guns,
William Austin, Commander



POLLY. Schooner, 114 tons. Marshfield, 1800. Reg. January 22, 1813. William Gray, owner; John Warner, master. No. 15.

ESSEX. Brig, 293 tons. Newbury, 1812. Reg. March 3, 1813. William Gray, owner; William F. Wyer, master. No. 27. (Captured by the British.)

1814

BRUTUS. Schooner, 231 tons. Dorchester Co., Md., 1812. Reg. September 27, 1814. William Gray and James D'Wolf, Bristol, R. I., owners; ———, master. No. 46. Reg. May 13, 1815. William Gray, owner; Edward Tayer, master. No. 201.

1815

CHANCE. Schooner, 104 tons. Manchester, 1814. Reg. March 28, 1815. William Gray, John Lee, and Thomas Leach, owners; John Lee, master. No. 106.

LUDLOW. Brig, 207 tons. Kennebunk, 1814. Reg. May 15, 1815. William Gray, owner; Joseph Mudge, master. No. 202.

UNION. Ship, 619 tons. Charlestown, 1815. Reg. May 26, 1815. William Gray, owner; Nehemiah W. Skillings, master. No. 218.

GRAND TURK. Brig, 309 tons. Wiscasset, 1812. Reg. June 8, 1815. William Gray, owner; William Austin, master. No. 243.

LEGAL TENDER. Brig, 112 tons. Captured in War by Citizens of the United States and lawfully condemned as prize. Reg. June 10, 1815. William Gray, owner; Philip Bessom, master. No. 248.

PATRIOT. Brig, 223 tons. Captured in War by Citizens of the United States and lawfully condemned as prize. Reg. June 15, 1815. William Gray, owner; Elliott Woodberry, master. No. 260.

RUBICON.

RUBICON. Ship, 407 tons. Kennebunk, 1810. Reg. June 20, 1815. William Gray, owner; Samuel Haskell, master. No. 271.

LAUREL. Ship, 425 tons. Danvers, 1800. Reg. July 3, 1815. William Gray, owner; Francis A. Burnham, master. No. 295.

ROMP. Brig, 161 tons. Vassalborough, 1812. Reg. July 27, 1815. William Gray, owner; Tobias Davis, master. No. 329.

CLARISSA. Ship, 321 tons. Captured in War by Citizens of the United States and lawfully condemned as prize. Reg. September 30, 1815. William Gray and Thomas Oxnard, of Portland, owners; Thomas Oxnard, master. No. 414. Reg. March 18, 1817. William Gray, owner; Henry King, master. No. 34.

PACTOLUS. Ship, 288 tons. Salem, 1806. Reg. October 14, 1815. William Gray, owner; Thomas Leach, master. No. 425.

LEOPARD. Barque, 207 tons. Danvers, 1807. Reg. October 24, 1815. William Gray, owner; Andrew Masters, master. No. 439.

SACO. Ship, 528 tons. Saco, 1815. Reg. November 4, 1815. William Gray, owner; Nathaniel Haskell, Jr., master. No. 452. Reg. July 10, 1816. William Gray, owner; Nathaniel Haskell, Jr., master. No. 172.

BEE. Schooner, 82 tons. Kennebunk, 1812. Reg. November 11, 1815. William Gray, owner; William Peach, master. No. 461. Reg. Dec. 11, 1816. William Gray, owner; John Borden, master. No. 295. Reg. January 15, 1818. William Gray, owner; Daniel Wise, Jr., master. No. 9.

ELIZABETH. Ship, 352 tons. Bangor, 1815. Reg. December 2, 1815. William Gray, owner; Philip Bessom, master. No. 493.

LAWRENCE.

LAWRENCE. Brig, 181 tons. Kennebunk, 1814. Reg. December 13, 1815. William Gray, owner; John H. Harris, master. No. 503.

1816

FAWN. Ship, 436 tons. Charlestown, 1812. Reg. January 4, 1816. William Gray, owner; William Austin, master. No. 6.

CONCORD. Brig, 230 tons. Kennebunk, 1806. Reg. March 15, 1816. William Gray, owner; Henry King, master. No. 75.

HOPE. Brig, 153 tons. Kennebunk, 1812. Reg. March 25, 1816. William Gray, owner; Thomas Woodberry, master. No. 83. (Vessel built upon and tonnage altered to 200 tons.) Reg. September 26, 1816. William Gray, owner; Neil C. Bang, master. No. 221. Reg. June 2, 1819. William Gray, owner; Thomas Leach, master. No. 135.

ROVER. Brig, 204 tons. Kennebunk, 1802. Reg. April 8, 1816. William Gray, owner; Neil C. Bang, master. No. 98.

HANNIBAL. Ship, 272 tons. Salisbury, 1810. Reg. April 22, 1816. William Gray, owner; Abiel Burgess, master. No. 120.

SWIFT. Brig, 161 tons. Amesbury, 1805. Reg. May 17, 1816. William Gray, owner; Nathan Story, master. No. 137.

RUTHY. Brig, 148 tons. Salem, 1790. Reg. September 2, 1816. William Gray, owner; Henry Blackler, master. No. 203.

1817

CHANCE. Brig, 235 tons. Saco, 1816. Reg. April 2, 1817. William Gray, owner; Francis Blackler, master. No. 56.

RAMBLER.

RAMBLER. Brig, 147 tons. Kennebunk, 1816. Reg. August 6, 1817. William Gray, owner; David Crafts, master. No. 167.

1818

ACASTUS. Ship, 343 tons. Pembroke, 1811. Reg. February 7, 1818. William Gray, owner; Francis A. Burnham, master. No. 30.

AMERICA. Brig, 157 tons. Newbury, 1801. Reg. April 7, 1818. William Gray, owner; Amos Hill, master. No. 52.

COLUMBUS. Ship, 395 tons. Plymouth, 1810. Reg. October 21, 1818. William Gray, owner; Rufus Robbins, master. No. 250.

WASHINGTON. Brig, 166 tons. Salisbury, 1804. Reg. October 28, 1818. William Gray, owner; Samuel R. Gray, master. No. 265.

CLAY. Ship, 299 tons. Hanover, 1818. Reg. December 30, 1818. William Gray, owner; Benjamin Hitchings, master. No. 350.

1819

AURELIA. Barque, 264 tons. Hingham, 1811. Reg. February 27, 1819. William Gray, owner; Issachar O. Foster, master. No. 44.

FAME. Schooner, 77 tons. Freetown, 1812. Reg. June 29, 1819. William Gray, owner; Edward L. Coffin, master. No. 157.

JOSEPH. Brig, 161 tons. Newcastle, 1807. Reg. December 7, 1819. William Gray, owner; John Boden, master. No. 282.

1820

ELIZABETH. Schooner, 80 tons. Salisbury, 1801. Reg. January 7, 1820. William Gray, owner; Simeon Haskell, master. No. 7.

LIBERTY. Schooner, 86 tons. Amesbury, 1804. Reg. January 20, 1820. William Gray, owner; Michael Power, master. No. 15.

ULTIMA. Brig, 168 tons. Newbury, 1816. Reg. April 5, 1820. William Gray, owner; Wadsworth Loring, master. No. 77.

ADVANCE. Brig, 193 tons. Kennebunk, 1807. Reg. April 25, 1820. William Gray, owner; John Boden, master. No. 89.

TRAVELLER. Brig, 150 tons. Eden, 1815. Reg. May 29, 1820. William Gray, owner; Joshua Orne, master. No. 107.

DIAMOND. Ship, 341 tons. Haverhill, 1819. Reg. June 20, 1820. William Gray, owner; Daniel Bickford, master. No. 122.

MAINE. Ship, 294 tons. Kennebunk, 1819. Reg. June 20, 1820. William Gray, owner; Thomas Leach, master. No. 123.

SEAMAN. Brig, 181 tons. Catskill, N. Y., 1810. Reg. August 11, 1820. William Gray, owner; Thomas Jones, master. No. 156.

BLAKELY. Brig, 233 tons. Salem, 1816. Reg. August 17, 1820. William Gray, owner; John Burrill, master. No. 161.

MERMAID. Schooner, 109 tons. Duxbury, 1805. Reg. September 18, 1820. William Gray, owner; Anthony Gage, master. No. 173.

PATRICK HENRY. Brig, 179 tons. Newcastle, 1820. Reg. October 21, 1820. William Gray, owner; David Crafts, master. No. 192.

1821

ESSEX. Brig, 200 tons. Amesbury, 1820. Reg. September 29, 1821. William Gray, owner; Daniel Wise, Jr., master. No. 192.

HAYTI. Schooner, 74 tons. Kingston, 1823. Reg. June 25, 1823. William Gray, owner; William H. Savage, master. No. 157.

ESSEX. Barque, 200 tons. Amesbury, 1820. Reg. August 8, 1823. Vessel altered to a barque. William Gray, owner; Daniel Wise, Jr., master. No. 180.

HOPE. Brig, 186 tons. Kennebunk, 1823. Reg. October 21, 1823. William Gray, owner; George W. Mansfield, master. No. 239.

1824

CONGRESS. Ship, 339 tons. Rochester, 1823. Reg. May 3, 1824. William Gray, owner; Nathaniel Kinsman, master. No. 76.

1825

HOPE. Schooner, 125 tons. Brunswick, Me., 1825. Reg. July 25, 1825. William Gray, owner; Edmund Snow, Jr., master. No. 140.

Vessels Mentioned in the one Letter-Book of William Gray, not in the Salem or Boston Registers

1809

OLIVE BRANCH	Captain Daniel Nason.
LOUISIANA (*Schooner*)	Captain Timothy Newhall.

1810

SEWALL (*Brig*)	Captain Swett.
BIRD (*Schooner*)	Captain John D. Dennis.
VENUS (*Brig*)	Captain Michel Bowden.
CARAVAN (*Brig*)	Captain Gilchrist.

1811

AUGUSTA	Captain Curtis.
ONTARIO (*Ship*)	Captain Hector Coffin.
COMET (*Brig*)	Captain Philip Besome.
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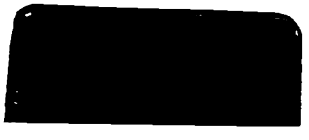
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